This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

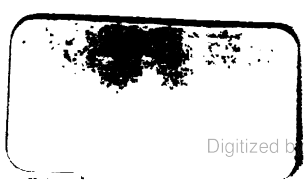
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

Bn 13.3 (47)

HARVARD
COLLEGE
LIBRARY



Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

ESSEX PAPERS.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

ESSEX PAPERS.

EDITED BY OSMUND AIRY.

VOLUME I.—1672-1679.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.XC.

Digitized by Google

Bm73.3 (47)

HARVARD
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY
MAY 7 1944

WESTMINSTER:
PRINTED BY NICHOLS AND SONS,
25, PARLIAMENT STREET.

[NEW SERIES XLVII.]

Digitized by Google

COUNCIL OF THE CAMDEN SOCIETY

FOR THE YEAR 1889-90.

President,

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF CRAWFORD, LL.D., F.R.S.

PROFESSOR MONTAGU BURROWS, M.A., F.S.A.
JAMES J. CARTWRIGHT, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., *Treasurer*.
REV. J. SILVESTER DAVIES, M.A., F.S.A.
REV. J. WOODFALL EBSWORTH, M.A., F.S.A.
JAMES GAIRDNER, ESQ., *Secretary*.
SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER, ESQ., M.A., LL.D. *Director*.
REV. F. A. GASQUET.
REV. W. HUNT, M.A.
REV. DR. LUARD.
W. J. C. MOENS, ESQ., F.S.A.
ALEXANDER MACMILLAN, ESQ., F.S.A.
THE EARL OF POWIS, LL.D.
HENRY REEVE, ESQ., D.C.L., C.B., F.S.A.
S. R. SCARGILL-BIRD, ESQ., F.S.A.
PERCY M. THORNTON, ESQ.

Digitized by Google

The COUNCIL of the CAMDEN SOCIETY desire it to be understood that they are not answerable for any opinions or observations that may appear in the Society's publications; the Editors of the several Works being alone responsible for the same.

Digitized by Google

PREFACE.

THE Letters contained in this volume are selected from the Essex correspondence, which forms part of the Stowe collection of MSS. in the British Museum. This correspondence covers the period of Essex's Viceroyalty of Ireland from 1672 to 1679. Of the original letters to him, official and private, there must be some thousands; and these are supplemented by probably almost as many of his own letters copied by Aldworth, his private secretary at Dublin.

Of the official despatches the greater number are from Arlington, Williamson, and Henry Coventry. But there are many also from Clifford, Shaftesbury, Ormond, Anglesey, and other public men of the day. In endeavouring to make the most satisfactory selection, I have had before me principally the questions of the condition of Ireland and the personal character of Essex; but I fear that what has been omitted is but little less worthy of notice, in some respects, indeed, more worthy. The letters which deal with Ranelagh and the farming of the Irish revenue would

Digitized by Google

form a volume; those from Sir Joseph Williamson describing the course of the abortive conference at Cologne, at which he acted as one of the British plenipotentiaries, would form another. I have omitted these entirely.

The private letters are of extreme interest. They are principally to and from the successive private secretaries of Essex in England, Francis Godolphin (brother of Queen Anne's Lord Treasurer), William Harbord (son of Sir Charles Harbord, and member of parliament), and Sir Cyril Wyche (member for Kellington), by all of whom he was kept in touch with the Government at Whitehall. Those of his brother, Sir Henry Capel, the chivalrous defender of Arlington, of Lord Aungier, and especially of Lord Conway, afterwards Secretary of State, form a vivid commentary upon the state of affairs previous to, and at the time of, the Test Act, and of the character and intrigues of the Court during Danby's *régime*. In some instances they are of great historical value.

Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex, possessed in full measure precisely those qualities which were rarest in the prominent men of the reign of Charles II. There is nothing mysterious about him, except the tragedy of his death, nothing upon which one conjectures, and conjectures in vain. He lived his life in the open light of day; he was poor, and yet he preserved complete independence, and kept his hands clean of bribes; he was so disinterested, so conscientious, so sensible, so laborious—and

Digitized by Google

no one who has not studied the correspondence can form any adequate idea of the toil of his office — that he gained and preserved the confidence and support of that keen judge of character, Charles II. He did his best firmly, fearlessly, without passion or weakness, to remedy the almost hopeless state of confusion in which he found Ireland, even when this necessitated a frank opposition to the greed of the female harpies who ministered to the pleasures of the king, and regarded the exchequer of Ireland as their easy and lawful prey. His letters (p. 58 and following) regarding the proposed gift of the Phœnix Park to the Duchess of Cleveland would alone entitle him to honour. He was an accomplished scholar, a keen sportsman, and, after the fashion of the day, a great builder and gardener; his family affections were deep, his private life singularly pure, his religion unaffected. Among his loyal friends he counted such men as the chivalrous Ormond, the cultivated Temple. It is still more to his credit that the corrupt and avaricious Danby, the crafty though accomplished Orrery, the unprincipled jobber Ranelagh, were his keen and consistent opponents in public life.

As far as page 139, where the private letters begin, of which much is in cypher (expressed in italics in the text), the correspondence is official. Almost at the outset we find Essex obliged to withstand the efforts of Orrery, the President of Munster (whose letters, descriptive of the state of Ireland, are of great value, pp. 1-12), to assume a dangerous independence

Digitized by Google

(pp. 12, 20, 24, 245). On pp. 26, 38, 77 will be found some interesting notices of the Scotch Presbyterians in the north, with an excellent example of Essex's quiet good sense on p. 125. With respect to this matter the copy of Archbishop Sharp's letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, p. 243, which Sharp himself declared to be forged (Wodrow, of course, Vol. 2, p. 301, gives it as genuine), deserves attention. The difficulties in Essex's way find illustration in almost every one of his letters. The reader may refer particularly to pp. 36 and 54; the whole Phœnix Park episode; the description on p. 78 of the effect of the Dutch war, and of English jealousy in stopping any development of Irish trade; the interesting letter regarding the army on p. 87; the long despatch to Charles II. on p. 147; and the letter to Harbord on p. 200. The pregnant phrase on p. 201, "The truth is, the lands of Ireland have been a mere scramble," expresses one aspect of the situation most graphically, as graphically as the fact that Essex was driven, in order to save the Phœnix Park, to propose a small tax on the whole of Ireland for raising the money promised to the Duchess of Cleveland, and that when the Duchess of Portsmouth wanted £8,000 for a necklace, Danby referred her at once to the Irish Exchequer. The letter which deals with the disarming of the Papists, p. 134, is full of good sense. The frequent protests which Essex was compelled to make against interference from England (*e.g.* pp. 16, 40, 51, 224) are couched in moderate but decided language. On page 322

Digitized by Google

will be found an excellent specimen of quiet rebuke to an egotistical subordinate.

Few of the letters will better repay careful reading than those of Sir William Temple, pp. 120, 131, &c.

From page 139 onwards, the principal interest lies in the private letters from London, and there are few of them which do not contain some graphic touch. Every character with whom we are familiar gains additional individuality: Danby "laying about him and providing for his family;" Lauderdale "bragging like a madman;" the Keeper (Finch) "acting very fearfully and warily;" Buckingham, after the disgraceful affair of Lady Shrewsbury, "become a great converte," giving "publique testimony thereof by going with his owne lady to St. Martin's to church," and giving God thanks before the House of Lords that the displeasure of the House had "opened his eyes and discovered to him the foulnesse of his past life;" Arlington, in full Council, calling Anglesey "a knave," "which is too true;" Louise de Kéroualle, giving her suppcrt to Danby on condition that he shall provide funds for the "Necklasse of Pearle, £8,000 price, of a Marchant, and a payre of diamond pendants, 3,000 guynyes, of elder Lady Northumberland," neither of whom will part with them without ready money; Lady Northumberland herself, "the Divell of a woeman;" Mary of Modena, who "knows not how to set one foot before another with any gracefulnesse," and upon whose entry, "when the King called

Digitized by Google

for a chaire for her, all the ladies who were in the presence-chamber ran out of the room, as thinking themselves of equal quality to the Dutchesse of Modena;" the supper at Lady Shrewsbury's, with Nell Gwyn, the Duke of Buckingham, and Mr. Speaker, described by Conway, where they "were very merry, had good discourse, and drank smartly;" the King "fumbling in delivering his speech, and making it worse than in the print" —a most interesting notice, since it was the occasion of his first deliberate official lie to Parliament. These are a few of the lighter touches which are scattered throughout these pages. But they are merely incidental to the graver notices of the differing aims and actions of the various cabals and rival politicians, notices which enable us to look into the inmost recesess of one of the most intricate episodes in our history.

OSMUND AIRY.

Birmingham, 17.3.90.

Digitized by Google

ESSEX PAPERS.

I.—The Earl of Orrery[a] to the Earl of Essex.[b]

[fo. 31.]

My Lord, Ballemartin, the 30th of Aprill, 1672.

* * * * *

Heere I mett with ye most welcom newse of His Majts haveinge declared yor Lp, Ld Lt of Ireland, wh: I assure yor Lp was most pleasinge to All the English of this Province, as well of the Tounes & Cuntry as of that Part of ye Army in it; for under yor Gont we assure our selves of much Happiness.

And because I more than hope yor Lp will hasten over into Ireland, I shall Presume humbly to minde you of a Few Essentiall Particulars. First, yt yor Lp may come fully Impowerd to settle ye Corporations of this Kingdom; For on yor doeinge of yt good worke thereby, not only the Present safety & Trade of Ireland under God will depend but also ye Future well Beeinge of it. Yor Lp will have but little Time left to doe this Great worke in, for ye seaven yeers granted for it, in ye Explanatory Act,[c] are neere Expired.

2ly. That ye Punctuall Paymt of ye Civill & Military Lists is Absolutely necessory, & Their Paymt will much, if not most of all, Depend on ye Trade of ye merchangts; & therefore if yor Lp does not soone Procure, not only a Good Garde of Ships for the Coast

[a] Roger Boyle, Baron Broghill, and first Earl of Orrery, statesman, soldier, and dramatist, died Oct. 16, 1629.

[b] Essex had been declared Lord-Lieutenant in the middle of April.

[c] Passed Dec. 23, 1665. See Carte's Ormond, vol. iv.

Digitized by Google

in Gen[ll], but also som Particular Friggetts, whos only duty shalbe to convay y[e] Merchant Ships in Fleets, I more then feare ye Farmers of y[e] Revenue will suddenly claime Great defalcations if they doe not Press to becom Accountants instead of Farmers.

3[ly]. The Greatest Magazeen of Armes in this Kingdom was Burnt in Dublin last summer, wh: ought speedely to be supplyed by a new store of Armes from England; And I humbly beseech yo[r] L[p] not to be unmindfull of gettinge as soone as you can a good Proportion of Gun-Powder, with Match & Ball Proportionable, sent for Ireland, for I am creddibly assured much of y[e] Powder keept neere Dublin is Greatly decayd; but I am sure tis kept in such unsafe Places, y[t] at any Time 40 desperat fellows may either ceese on it or blow it up. This I assure myself yo[r] L[ps] wisedom will perceive as soone as you land.

4[ly]. The sum for Concordatums to defray y[e] contingent charges of this kingdom ought in all Reason to be Inlarged in Time of War much above what it was alowed to be in y[e] last Establishm[t] in y[e] L[d] Roberts his time. And unless this be done, his Maj[ts] Seruice may not a little suffer.

5[ly]. Our last letters from London tell us of a considerable Reduction of y[e] Troopes & Companyes of this Army, intended to be made by a new Establishment.[a] Ther is noe man Liveinge does more earnestly desyre to ease His Maj[ts] Post then I doe. But, in my humble opinion, Safety is in y[e] First Place to be prefeerd. And I will therfore hope y[t] y[e] noyse of this Reduceinge at Present is but noyse, since tis not usuall in Time of War[b] to make Armys less then they were in Times of Peace, especially in a kingdom wher y[e] Army is soe little alreddy y[t] many walled Tounes & Excellent Sea Ports haue not one Sold[r] in them. And in the Prouince (And I hear tis y[e] like in sum other parts of this kingdom) the Soldiery are constantly on Third Night duty throughout y[e] whole yeer, in thos Few Garrisons we man. Nor could I y[e] last Dutch War draw out soe

[a] Six troops and ten companies disbanded in July.
[b] War had been declared against the Dutch, March 17, 1672.

Digitized by Google

much as one foot Company, for ye defence of His Maj^ts^ Fleet at Kinsale, when we dayly expected to be ther assaulted by them, but I was necassitated to draw thither seuerall Troops & Companys of ye Militia of this Prouence, to answer y^t^ seruice; & yet we had then in this Prouince 400 effective foot more then now we haue, for want of wh: I have been alreddy necessitated to draw all ye Gards in the Three Chief Cittyes of Munster, viz.: Corke, Lymerick, & Waterford, into ye Cittadels & Gatehowses, & in effect to make ye Gate howses Cittadels, by lodginge Soldiers & Plantinge Cannon in them; for if any one of them should be surprised, Tis me Thince[a] a bigger Army, Than now in His Maj^t's^ pay in Ireland, can soe much as beseidge one of them; Espectially Lymerick; Before wh: ye usurpers Lay, when ye Irish had it, with an Army of neere 28,000 men, with a Fleet, an Excellent Trayne of Artillery, Bridges of Boats, & all other necessaryes for a Seidge; yet in Seauen months Time they were not neerer takeinge it ye last day then ye First, & had been forced to Raise their seidge, had not ye Plague, ye famine, & (most of all) their owne diuision forced them to surrender.[b]

Soe y^t^ if in yor L^ps^ Gouernment any Rebellion or inuasion should be made, you will finde it hardly Possible to draw any foot out of ye Garrisons to suppress it or repell it; but you must, under God, depend on ye Few Horse of ye Army, and in ye militia of ye cuntry. And therefore to be well supplyed with Arms and Ammunition wilbe essentially Requisite, since in either of thos cases twilbe then too late to send into England for Supplyes.

6^ly^. In my humble opinion it wilbe very Requisite to haue a sum of mony to buy Bisquett & Cheese, both to be layd Inn inn ye chiefe Cittadels & Remote Garrisons on ye Sea Coast, y^t^, in case of any danger, thos Important Places may be in a condition to defend themselues till Releefe come, without wh: they wilbe soe much exposed. As also to haue in euery Prouince at least a Reasonable Quantity of

[a] *Sic.*

[b] The same thing happened in 1689, when William III. besieged Limerick after the battle of the Boyne.

Digitized by Google

Biskett, if ther should be occasion of a sudden martche, since for want of it I haue known much inconuience insue. And also to mount some Cannon in Cittadels and Sea Ports; 2,500*l.* would goe farr in this work now corne is fallen in its Price by Reason of ye Warr; and work-men & Timber are cheaper for ye same cause. To all wh: I must of necessity ad, ye Greate use of a small Trayne of Artillery to be reddy to martch in euery Prouince on a dayse warninge, For mischeifs are easily supprest at ye very First; And ye hope-fullest way to Prevent Ill Designes is to be in a good Posture to oppose them.

7th. His Maj^ty^ Has not in This kingdom one Harbour Fortefyed, soe as to defend His owne, or His subjects ships in case of need. This made me an Humble & earnest suitor Last yeere, to Him, y^t^ Kinsale might haue a Forte Royall erected on it; for Tis not only ye harbour, to wh: all ye Nauy Royall Resort, but also is situated, exceedinge well, in ye Rode of ye Gratest Tradeinge & Nauigation, & is ye most Capable of any to be more stronge. In it likewise Are Large Howses for Magazeens, built by my Ld Strafford, & a Faire Dock under ye old Forte; but dayly goeing to decay, yet a little at Present would Repaire it. His Maj^ty^ was Graciously Pleased, in ye Greate honour of a letter to me, All written with His owne hand, to order me in 9^ber^ last, to begin a Forte Royal ther, & both to order me one Thousand Pound to Prepare Materialls, & to Declare His Pleasure of sendinge me over an Ingeneere, but ye Ingeneere I neuer yet saw, & of ye 1000*l.*, I receiued but 500*l.* soe yt euer since ye latter end of Feb: last I haue with my owne mony & creddit kept y^t^ necessary worke in motion, but if mony & ye Ingeneere be not suddenly sent (in ye Procuringe wherof I humbly beg yor Fauour) ye Artificers & labours must be discharged, wh: will not only be a greate disgrace, but also a uery considerable Prejudice. I have written so longe & Frequently to my Ld Ranelagh & Mr Sec^ry^ Treuour on this subject.

I have Put all ye Forces, Garrisons, & Militia of this Prouence in ye best Posture I can, for ye honour of His Maj^ts^ service. I haue

Digitized by Google

also fixed all ye old Armes in His Maj^ts^ store in Munster. I haue made a small Trayne of Batteringe Artillery reddy, on six hours warninge to martch; mounted seuerall ordnance on seuerall needful Places. Settled ye best courses I could, for speedy and True Intelligence; & comẽded strictly All ye Officers & Solders to their Garrisons & Quarters, & not to stir from thence without leaue on writinge from His Ex^ce^ or myselfe. But I haue not yet had one Penny sent me out of ye Tresuery for all thes needful works; but I owe all I haue to His Maj^ts^ Goodness & I will cheerfully spend All I am worth in ye Honour & Duty of His Seruice.[a]

II.—The Earl of Orrery to the Earl of Essex.

[Stowe MS. 499, fo. 43.]

My Lord, Ballymartir, ye 4th of June, 1672.

* * * * *

I humbly thanke Yo^r^ L^p^ for assuringe me you will come fully Impoured in Relation to the Corporations of this kingdom. That is an Essentiall Point, For on them cheifly, under God, does Depend The safety, The Trade, & ye Law-makers in this kingdom. If none be Restored to Freedom in Corporations but such as are Adjudged innocent by ye king's Court of Claymes, such men have Justice done them, & all others, who were Free of Corporations, but have forfited their Freedoms by their voluntary Guilt, cannot in Reason Complayne, that they are not Restored to such Priueledges as they did voluntoryly Imploy against ye Crowne & forfited by often Rebellinge against it. Yet God forbid but such as were Free of Corporations, & are now Traders by Sea, or Carryers on of Wollen & Linnen Manefactures (wh: are honeste

[a] The advice contained in this letter is urgently repeated on June 4. On July 6 the Lord Chancellor writes that "money is miserably exhausted; there will scarce be a possibility of publick payments if some sudden course be not taken to prevent the transporting of coyne and plate out of this countrie." Orrery wrote on August 9th, "I finde the Englishe disanimated, and the Irishe very high."

Digitized by Google

callings in themselues, beneficiall to ye kinge & usefull to ye kingdom) may not while they continue Peaceable Subjects, & follow laboriously such Vocations, be admitted to Trade in Corporations as Free men in all things, but Electinge Members of Parl^t^ & ye Anuall choyce of Magistrates: And that none others of ye Romish Religion, be admitted to Liue in ye Garrisons & Corporations, or to Purchass or take howses in them without His Maj^ts^ Licence in writinge, or ye L^d^ L^ts^, or ye Presid^ts^ of Munster & Connaught, in their Respective Prouences. Thus Justice wilbe done to ye Adjudged Innocent, Fauour wilbe extended, to ye Industrious Trader by Sea, & to ye men of Linnen & Wollen Manufacture, a full Authority to admitt diuers other Particular Persons who may be usefull & not dangerous, tho' neither Restored as Innocents, nor Traders by sea, nor men of ye Wollen & Linnen Manufacture; And yet His Maj^ts^ Garrisons & Corporations maybe kept safe.

I beg yor L^ps^ Pardon, y^t^ I am soe Tedious on this subject; but above 30 yeers experience & the miseries this kingdom has suffered for want of due care in this one Point is ye cause of it. I would goe as farr in it as ye safety of His Maj^ts^ Service can admitt; & beiond That I can thinke nothinge advizable.

That ther needs to be som Publike Rules giuen, or Explanations made on ye late Printed Acts of Councill at Dublin, I beleeue is but too obuious & Therefore haueinge thought on That subject all I could, I could not light on any Juster, more fauorable, & more safe Rules, then I haue humbly offered to yor consideration, only I beg earnestly, That what euer Rules are made, or Explanation is giuen therein, maybe soe Plainly & Cleerly worded, That he that Runs may Read & understand them, els what is to End Doubts may Raise them; And y^t^ ther can be nothinge Intended but what may be written particularly, I humbly recommend to yor L^ps^ care, That if ye word Merchants be Incerted in thos Rules, wh: are to admitt men (Without Particular Lycence in Writinge) into Garrisons & Corporations, That that worde Mer-

Digitized by Google

chant may be Limitted to such Merchants as are Actually Traders by Sea not Nominally but Really, y^t^ is not y^t^ only Trade by Sea, only to be admitted into Corporations & Garrisons, & to such as men of Manufacture Indeed in ye Linnen or Woollen Trade, els under ye name of Merchants; (unles soe Explayned) all ye Garrisons willbe full of ye loosest and most dangerous Persons of Ireland; For ye Generalty of ye Irish are not very Critticall in their words, but who euer is a shop-keeper is amongst most of them a Merchant; and who euer sells Ale, Tobacco, Sneezinge, Broges, &c. is an Irish Merchant in ye Largest Acceptation, wh: they will take up, if it be for their Benefitt.

I promiss myselfe y^t^ ye Pay^mt^ of ye Ciuill & Military Lists wilbe Punctual, while my Ld Ranelagh's undertakinge continues. But y^t^ cannot last longer then Tradinge does, and Tradinge alreddy is soe decay'd, for want of a Garde on ye Coasts, y^t^ ye natiue comodities of this Prouince are alreddy fallen one Third Part. I doubt it is ye like over ye Kingdom, for this Prouince is ye Greatest Province of Trade in Ireland. And y^t^ y^r^ L^p^ may see, & by you His Maj^ty^ know, what an inconsiderable Thinge the Trade of ye Irish was by sea in Times of ye highest Peace, I am assured, & I fully beleeue it, That only Two Tounes of this County of Corke, viz., Corke and Yoghall, have now more Ships belonginge only to ye English Merchants in them then All ye Irish of Ireland had in my Ld Strafford's Gov^mt^ or at any time before. And yet this Prouince, in wh: I Incourage all I possibly can buildinge of Ships of our owne (for Fraigtinge of Forringhners distresse us), Navigation & Manufacture, must in time be Ruin'd, because ye King's Dutyse in Munster doe amount Anually to much more then Payse His Maj^ts^ Ciuill and Military charges in ye Prouince & ye overplus of Thos. Dutyse is carryed in cash quarterly out of ye Province, wh: neuer Returnes again, for Dublin in Ireland makes not the same Circulation y^t^ London does in England. But I hope yor L^ps^ fauour and wisedom will finde out a Remedy for us heerein. Howeuer, I have summoned

Digitized by Google

All ye Chief Merchants of this Prouince, and after much debate they have assured me, if His Maj^ty^ will allow them a Frigget of 24 Guns, only to Convey ye Merchants Ships of this Prouince, they will All sett to Trade again. If ye kinge cannot Spare such a Friggett, we will, at His Maj^tie^ coste, Provide our victuall, officer & man her, whereby His Maj^tie^ will Receive Ten Times more in Port dutyse then ye charge of y^t^ Frigget will amount unto & His subjects continue their Trade. I have written soe at large on this subject to my Ld Ranelagh & Mr Sec^ry^ Treuour, y^t^ I will not Repeate it to yor L^p^, but Begg y^r^ Favour in callinge on them to Hasten to us, what my Ld Ranelagh assured me then [the] kinge has granted to us, els our Trade wilbe dead.

We dayly sawe Rich West India Ships in this Prouince, wh: are dayly chased into our Harbours by ye Dutch.

I have been necessitated to Repaire, man, & send ordnance into Crook-hauen and ye Iland of Innishertroe for y^t^ end.

I have also made 3 new Cittadels in ye Cittys of Corke and Lymericke in wh: I haue Planted ordnance and lodged Sold^rs^ to Prevent surprises, but I haue not yet had one Penny alowed.

My L^d^,

Y^r^ L^ps^ most humble
& most obedient faithfull Seru^t^,
ORRERY.

III.—CHARLES II. TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

['The restrictions upon the export of woollen manufactured articles,[a] prohibited an account of the cheapness of wool in Ireland, and the consequent danger of underselling the English manufacturers, are to be mitigated, and offences against them pardoned according to Essex's discretion.]

[Vol. i. fo. 76.]

[a] In 1698 this trade was practically suppressed by the English Parliament. See Macaulay, vol. iv. p. 370.

Digitized by Google

IV.—The Earl of Orrery[a] to the Earl of Essex.[b]

[Vol. i. fo. 126.]

My L[D] Ballemarten, the 13 of Aug[t], 72.

While I stay in Ireland, wh: tis likely wilbe but for a few weeks (for now my Tremllinge & Burninge Dayly Fits are chang'd into stronge, clammy & cold swettinge fits, wh: if They continue my Doc[trs] are of opinion I must goe to the Bath in England, neere wh: I haue a howse of my owne) I would be uerry glad to serue His Maj[ty] & yo[r] Ex[ce].[a]

The Prouince of Munster neere thes 100 years was neuer till now without a cheef Gov[r] or Ld Presed[t] & what numerous and Discontented People may attempt I know not. And if any Troubles should be begun, if they be not nipped in y[e] blossom, God only knows how far they may Proceed. And if only euery capt. cõmed his Troope or Company, or euery Gov[r] his Garrison, I doubt it maybe of ill consequence, if any Troubles should happen; for it may be too late to send to Dublin, & Perhaps Impossible to doe it. I speake not this I Protest to God in Reference to myselfe, for I intend to spend y[r] Residue of my Life in England, But in my humble opinion tis for ye king's service & ye safety of this kingdom, That som one Person (in case of any Troubles) should have authority to cõmd ye Forces of this Prouince, wh: is soe far separated from Dublin that som parts of it are 150 Irish myles from Dublin, wh: is aboue 200 English miles.

While I stay in Ireland I intend to Reside in this Loane howse of Ballymartin, I am therefore an humble suitor to yo[r] Ex[ce], that I may haue yo[r] order for Two Commanded men out of euery of y[e] 9

[a] Orrery's Presidency of Munster was suppressed in the beginning of August.

[b] Essex arrived in Dublin at the beginning of August, in the "Norwich" frigate, and received the sword on the 5th.

[a] He was unable to meet Essex at Dublin, being attacked by tertian and quotidian ague.

Digitized by Google

companyes to doe Duty heere; & a Serg^{t}. to comñd them. I haue bin 30 yeers a Gen^{ll} Officer, and 1 neuer had yet ye howse I liued in without a Garde, nor would I euer Liue in Ireland without one, wh: makes me beg this fauour of yor Ex^{ce}, & yet I would not moue it were it not Reasonable That ye quarter or howse in which a Gen^{ll} Officer Liues should haue 18 men to Defend it.

I Presume as yor most faithfull seru^{t} most humbly to Recom^{d} som Few things to yor Ex^{s} serious consideration. The first is—

That since yor Garrisons are soe weeke,[a] & since a Forraighn warr is Actually begun & since ther are Thousands of Discontented People in Ireland who may be apt to Rise, in case God should Froune on his Maj^{ts} Armes at any time[b] (for such as did almost universally Rebell while they Injoyed their estates may be apter to doe it now they haue Lost them) That yor Ex^{ce} would cause one months victualls of Bisquit, Cheese, Butter, and Pease, to be lay'd inn in ye Cittadels and Forts of ye Greate Tounes. In all of wh: but Corke I belieue ther are 4 Times more Irish, that were Guilty of ye Rebellion, and are yet unpardon'd for it Then there are Sold^{rs} of ye Kings, & more Dayly will crowde in; for if your Cittadels have not a months victualls in them, if any Toune should be surprised, ye cittadell In consequence (if unvictual'd) must be lost, and so it happened Gen^{lly} when ye late Greate Rebellion began. But if the Cittadels be victual'd it may keepe ye Tounes from Reuoltinge, or if they Reuoult they may Bridle them till Reliefe coms. The charge wilbe but small, but ye benefitt & security Greate. I beleeue about 60^{lb} a peece may doe it; and ere the Prouisions grow stale, they may be sold at little loss, and new put in their steeds.

The Second is, That as soone as Yo^{r} Ex^{ce} may well doe it, you

[a] Essex informed Arlington, Secretary of State, that he intended at once to garrison the large towns, leaving the others. He did garrison Limerick, Waterford, Cork, and Kinsale.

[b] This fear is expressed by Rothes and others regarding Scotland.—Lauderdale Papers, vol. i. p. 217.

Digitized by Google

will proceed to the well settlinge of ye Corporations, for on that will depend, not only the well beinge of yor Trade & ye safety of yor Townes, but also ye Good Choice of Members of Par^lt^ wheneuer ye Kinge should thinke fitt to call one in Ireland.

The Third is, the countenanceinge and well Regulatetinge of ye Militia, wh: now, under God, is the Greatest strength of the Crowne in case of any forraighn Inuasion or home Rebellion. I did Raise by His Maj^ts^ Comiss^on^ a considerable one in the Prouince, This County of Corke only yeildinge more Troops of Horse, for number & quantity, then ther is now in the whole Army, All Excellently well officer'd & Armed, & euery Priuate Trooper a Protestant, haueinge taken the oaths of Allegiance & Supremacy, for I did Admitt of none but such.

The last thinge I shall now Trouble yor Ex^ce^ with is humbly to offer to y^or^ consideration whether it be not aduisable to Issue a Proclamation, That none but ye King's officers & Sold^rs^ of ye Army & Militia Ride or come into Garrisons with Fyre Armes without Particular Licence from yor Ex^ce^, or som Gen^ll^ Officer; Exceptinge Peers, Priuy Councellors, Justices of Peace, & thos Imploy'd to Raise & Carry the King's Reuenue, & their meniall Seru^ts^, wh: Duringe ye last Dutch Warr & ye Present was the Rules I obserued throughout this Prouince. But now euery little Fellow Rides with his Pistols, and confidently coms into Garrisons with them at his Saddle Bow.

This letter I write only to yor Ex^ce^, to whom tis absolutely submitted. But I doubt, if somethinge be not speedely and effectually done, the better sorte of ye English merchants will withdraw with their Stocks into England, wh: would be an Irreparable loss to Ireland. One of ye richest in this Prouince, noe longer then yesterday, came to tell me he was sellinge his ships & all His Stock, & was Remoueinge for good and All into England. I doubt That Example will be contagious.

Digitized by Google

V.—The Earl of Orrery to the Earl of Essex.[a]

[Vol. I. fo. 142.]

My Lord, Ballymartin, ye 16th of Aug^t, 72.

* * * * *

While I was Ld Presed^t of Munster, I used Some Times to Pass 2 or 3 months at this Castell, it beinge scituated in a Pleasent Cuntry for all Recreations, & because ther is noe Toune or Villadge about it. I bought six Iron Guns, wh: I mounted in ye Flankers of it, for ye better Security of ye Place dureinge my Residence in it.

Ther is an old Statute y^t none must haue Artillery in their Howses or Castils without leaue. I cannot now giue it to my selfe, & therfore I Desyer Yo^r Ex^s Licence to keepe thes six small Iron Ordnance in my Castell of Ballemartin, for whateuer is a Law is & shalbe still sacred to me who am & wilbe wile I liue, &c.

VI.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.[b]

[Stowe MS. 499, fo. 6^b.]

My Lord, Dublyn Castle, Aug. 17th, 1672.

Wee are now upon the consideration of the regulations to bee impos'd on Corporations,[c] wch would deserve a considerable time of consultation before it were put in execution, but soe unhappy I am in this perticular as the Act of Parlm^t allows no more time but between this and Michaelmass to doe any thing in it; seven years[d] were by ye Act prescrib'd for perfecting this worke, but none of

[a] See Letters X., XIV.
[b] Secretary of State.
[c] See Letter IX.
[d] From Sept. 29, 1665.

Digitized by Google

the Governors have ever yet effectually taken it in hand (save only in the case of the Towne of Droheda), so as all is left to bee performed by mee in this short space of time, wch being now but six weeks, I fear through hast I shall committ some errors, tho I take the best care I can to avoyd them.

The 2 main Points wch upon this occasion may be gain'd to the Crown are the approbation of all the Chief Magistrates (as Mayors, Sheriffs, and Recorders) of all towns, to bee reserved to ye Chief Governor here, and the vacating some extravagant Priviledges wch divers Corporacions of this kingdome have by their Charters granted to them, as for instance some Towns have all ye Fines, Forfeitures, etc. within their Liberties, that are adjudg'd in any of his Maj^ties Courts; whereby, when judgment is once given, the King is disabled of exercising his Pow'r of Pardon, in regard the right to these Penalties immediately belong to ye Corporation; besides these I doe not yet know of any materiall advantage that will arrive to ye Crown by a new regulation of the Corporacions, and I am of opinion that these (at least ye 1st of them) are more proper to be setled by way of Rules grounded on ye Act then by any new Charters; becaus all that is so done is establisht by Act of Parlm^t, and the other is only by ye Great Seale wch upon a New Charter may bee vacated.

I need not offer to your Lo^p that obvious consideration of ye irregular advantage wch Governors may make in ye disposall of some of these Places, wch are most of them (as specially those of the Recorders) Places of some profitt, but thinke it my duty to pursue his Maj^ties command, wch I find in this perticular signified in a letter to my Lord Berkeley, tho' I doe much apprehend there will bee hereafter no small gain accrue by it to some Governors wch may bee sent hither to ye great prejudice of many of these Corporacions.

* * * * *

Upon the noise of my intention to remove ye Troops and Companys to places more advantageous for his Maj^ties Service, I have

Digitized by Google

had many Applications to mee to continue them where they are, and the most usuall pretence of perticular persons is, that they have Patents from his Maj^tie during life^e of the government of Counties, Provinces, and Towns, as my Lord Donegall pretends one for the Province of Ulster, St Francis Foulks of ye Towne of Clonmell; how inconvenient a Military command for any Terme longer then during pleasure may prove his Maj^tie is best able to judge; I am confident many here are during life, but they shall never hinder mee in disposing the forces, as I find necessary for ye securing the country without regard to any man's convenience. As soon as I can have a List of all these Patents I will send it to your Lo^p and shall desire to know his Maj^ties opinion upon them.

VII.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

[Stowe MS. 499, fo. 10^b].

[After stating that he will do as well as he can without the troops which have been sent into England, and vividly describing the destitution of the disbanded forces, Essex proceeds.]

My Lord, Dublyn Castle, Aug. 20, 1672.

I fear the distractions and disputes wch have bin of late in this citty will give mee more trouble to compose then at first I believ'd it would have done. I find pties on both sides much exasperated ags^t each other, and unwilling to come to an amicable end among themselvs, wch if it could have bin compasd had bin best, and after ye conclusion to have given rules for ye future govenment of ye Corporacion, but I now believe 'twill come to a hearing at ye Councell Table, and will engage factions there, and I am confident cause much heat in ye debate, but I shall to my best doe justice in ye case.

Digitized by Google

Some Letters were by ye last post transmitted to y^r^ Lo^p^ to desire an Authority from his Maj^tie^ for raising the value of forrain coyn, wch is ye only Proposall offer'd as a means to encrease ye money of this kingdome, but 'tis a matter soe disputable whether ye country will receive advantage or prejudice by enhauncing forreign money, as I doe much question whether it will bee advisable to make use of such a power if it should be allowed us.

Another matter of ye same nature is now before us wch is a great abuse upon ye People here (as ye like has of late bin in England) wch is ye uttring of Farthings[a] by private men, 'twill bee necessary there bee publick ones allow'd before these others can be cal'd in and prohibited; some apprehension I am in lest any one in England should get a Patent for coyning them, and some abuse may creep in that way. I only desire y^r^ Lo^p^ y^t^ any such attempt may bee stop'd till ye Proposall come from nence, wch I assure y^r^ Lo^p^ I shall endeavor to make in such terms as may only tend to ye Publick good, and not to ye Profitt of perticular persons.

By severall Informations from ye north part of Ireland, I am told of divers meetings of Non Conformists, wch are very frequent in that quarter where ye Scots inhabite, perticularly in the Citty of London Derry wch is a Garrison and of great Importance, being ye only considerable Town wch ye English have in that Country.

I am forct to place but a small Garrison in it consisting only of 3 foot Companys, by reason ye Army is now soe small, wch Garrison I fear may bee very insecure if those meetings bee permitted in that Citty, for 2,000 have sometimes met there at once, nor doe I well know since his Maj^ties^ Declaration for Liberty of conscience in England,[b] wch hath an effect here on men's minds, how to restrain it without Order.

The best course I can think of would bee to doe ye same here as is practis'd in England, wch is to license some persons and places and to prohibite all others; this if it bee limited to convenient places may hinder all meetings not only in London Derry, but in

[a] See Letter XII.

[b] Cancelled on March 8, 1673.

Digitized by Google

all other Garrisons wch I conceive will bee of great securitie to them. Just as I was writing this a Petition from ye B^p of that diocess [a] came to mee; a copy of ye Petition is here enclosed, wth wch I shall conclude this tedious letter, and remain, &c.

VIII.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

[Stowe MS. 494, fo. 12.]

My Lord, Dublyn Castle, Aug. 20, 1672.

* * * * * *

I have bin very instant wth ye Comiss^rs of ye Treãry to bring in a clear Account of all moneys they have receiv'd since their undertaking,[b] and of all ye paym^ts they have made. Some Accounts they have delivered, but such as are in no waies satisfactory. I am confident they find I will not bee kept ignorant, and tis observable that upon my earnest pressing of them to account, They have sent over into England one Copley, Servt to Mr. Hays, now Comtroller of ye Revenue. He was dispatcht very privately, and, as I hear, had a Vessell on purpose to transport him.

* * * * * *

I perceive many here doe depend upon their friends in England for nomination, both to these [c] and other Governments here, but I doe assure my self y^r Lo^p will bee carefull of mee in this perticular, for I doe dayly more and more find how necessary it is (to speak abstractedly from my own concerne), even to ye Kgs business, that ye Chief Governors here bee supported, and not imposd upon in ye disposall of all places of command here.[d]

Y^r Lo^p will pardon this freedome, &c.

[a] See Letters XV., XX.

[b] See Introduction.

[c] *Scil.* Governorships or Deputy-Governorships of counties.

[d] This is frequently pressed by Essex.

Digitized by Google

IX.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

[Stowe 499, fo. 14]

My Lord, Dublyn Castle, Aug. 24, 1672.

Y^r Lo^ps of the 16th instant I have received, together with an account of Mounsieur De Witt's death, wch was in the most barbarous manner I ever have heard.

The giving rules to Corporacions is at present ye worke wee have in hand. Some difficulties I meet with in it, wherein I conceive 'tis necessary for mee to know his Maj^ties pleasure to direct my proceedings. At ye beginning of this week I orderd a Committee of Councell to meet and prepare some present regulation of Corporacions.

The severall Proposalls reported were these:—

1. That no election of Mayor, Sheriff, Recorder, or Towne Clerke bee valid till confirmed by ye approbation of ye Lieu^t and Councell.

2. That the Election of Mayor, and all other Magistrates, shall bee by ye Mayor and Aldermen and Common Councell, and not by a popular vote.

3. That care bee taken for forreine Protestants who are Artificers or Merchants to bee admitted into Corporacions.

4. That all ye Heads, Officers, Aldermen, Magistrates, and Common Councell men of Corporacions doe take ye Oath of Allegiance, and such other Oaths as are there in force according to Lr̃e from ye Privy Councell, dated 17 Aug., 1670.

These in ye generall for all Corporacions, and perticularly for ye Citty of Dublyn this following.

5. That ye Common Councell bee elected every three years.

The three first of these Rules can, I thinke, admit of no dispute, only the enlargement of ye 3^d to all Forrainers of any religion what ever, as well as Protestants, and ye last too, wch relates only to ye Citty of Dublyn is, without doubt, very proper for this City, and

Digitized by Google

reasonable. The only difficulty rests upon ye fourth, wch imposes ye Oath.

That his Majestie may have ye whole matter before him at one view, I have with this enclosed ye copys of such Letters,[a] either heretofore or lately written by his Maj^ties^ command, as are to bee found here in ye councill books relating to this subject, and upon this occasion I desire his Maj^tie^ would bee pleasd to review ye severall clauses wch for his greater ease I have scored with a pen in the severall copys here transmitted to your Lo^p^, wherein these perticulars appear observable.

1. That his Maj^ties^ Lr̃e for restoring ye Irish to inhabite or Trade in Corporacions, dated May 22^d^, 1661, is in ye same Termes and almost the same words as ye later Lr̃e to ye Ld Barkeley, dated Feb. 26, 167½.

2. That when upon ye receipt of ye said Lr̃e, dated 22^d^ of May, 1661, the Lords Justices were in doubt how to proceed in this matter and desird a further signification of his Maj^ties^ pleasure herein, a very sharp Lr̃e ag^t^ ye Romanists was returnd in aunswer from his Maj^ties^ Privy Councell in England wth great restrictions upon ye clauses of his Maj^ties^ Lr̃e, and at the same time (viz., about ye 12 or 13 Aug: 1661) the Lr̃e was accompanied wth another from Mr Secretary Nicholas, expressly declaring it was never his Maj^ties^ Pleasure to establish them in any Priviledge relating to Magistracy or Goverm^t^.

3. That in a Lr̃e from ye Lords of his Maj^ties^ Privy Councell, bearing date ye 17th of Aug: 1670, concerning ye granting of new charters to Corporacions, a speciall clause is inserted, Providing that all Heads and Members of Coporacions bee made incapable to Act till they have taken ye Oath of Allegiance, and such other Oaths as are there in force.

4. I doe well remember that sometime after ye writing of this last Lr̃e, dated ye 26 of Feb^r^, 167½, Mr Secretary Trevor has

[a] These copies are among the MSS. On Feb. 20, 1672, indulgence had been granted by royal letters to Irish Roman Catholics to live in corporations.

Digitized by Google

severall times told both myself and divers others (I believe I could recover it under his hand writing) that his Majtie had to him declared his resolution in this perticular, that though Hee would admitt the Romanists to Trade in Corporacions, yet hee never intended they should bee Magistrates there, all wch is exactly conformable to Mr. Secretary Nicholas Lre before-recited.

I might take ye advantage of these expressions in these 2 Lres of ye 13 of Aug: 1661, and of ye 17th of Aug: 1670, wch have never yet bin contradicted, and wth out consulting wth any in England impose ye Rules wth an express clause for taking these oaths, but in all cases of moment or difficulty (where time will admit ye sending for it) it shall ever bee my rule to inquire his Majties Pleasure, and my practise to conforme exactly to it.

From my self I have only this to say wch I humbly offer to his Majties consideration, that if his Majtie should by these rules dispence wth ye Oath of Supremacy all of ye Roman persuasion will immediately bee capacitated to bear Offices of Magistracy in all ye Corporacions of this Kingdome, and his Majtie engaged by these rules to make this Priviledge good to them, whereas on ye other side, though these Rules should require the taking of this oath, yet by connivance his Majtie may, (as in case of Justices of Peace hee doth) allow such as shall please him from time to time to dispense with from ye taking this Oath, and admit them by his special favor to enjoy this Priviledge. Besides, I doe really believe that if Romanists bee admitted to ye Magistracy in Corporacions, it will upon ye whole bee a hindrance to trade here; For I am confident 'tis not in jest that I hear from all hands that if this should once bee allowed many wealthy Trading Protestants would upon that score withdraw themselvs and their stocks. And upon this occasion give mee leave to tell yr Lop that I already begin to find how differently many matters have bin represented to mee when I was in England, from what I now upon ye Place perceive to bee ye Truth; 'Tis my method to refuse ye speaking with no man, what ever I learn that is proper to bee communicated to your Lop you

Digitized by Google

may be fully assurd shall wth all candor and impartialite bee imparted to your Lo^p^.

I humbly desire an Answer to this Affaire wth as much speed as conveniently you can, and that it may bee positive and clear; if his Maj^tie^ shall in his wisedome think fitt to consult his Privy Councell in this matter tis most agreeable to that wch hath bin done by himself in ye like case as you see by one of ye L^res^ enclosed. And I thinke it may not bee unworthy in an affaire of this importance to send an express with the Aunswer, who for more certeynty may goe through Scotland by Port Patrick, for many times ye winds at this season of ye year continue for some weeks constantly in ye west, wch if it should now happen, wee cannot hear from England by ye ordinary Post. I am ye more earnest for an Aunswer in regard I must of necessity goe suddenly on wth ye dispatch of this business, that ye Advantages of ye Crowne by this Regulation bee not overslipt. The time by ye Act expiring at Michaelmas next, and in case no Aunswer should come, I can doe no other than proceed according to ye significations of his Maj^ties^ Pleasure in these enclos'd L^res^ wch have as yet received no Countermand.

* * * * *

The Councell here are almost all unanimous in this matter, and will I believe wth some warmth press ye imposinge ye Oath of Supremacy in all ye Corporacions.

X.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

[Stowe, 499, fo. 24^b^]

My Lord, Dublyn Castle, Aug. 27, 1672.

* * * * *

I had lately a L^re^ from my Ld Orrery, wherein hee desird my Licence for the keeping of six Iron Guns[a] wch hee saith are his

[a] *See* Letters VI. and XV. Essex's refusal (August 20) and Orrery's letter of remonstrance (August 23) are both in the MS.

Digitized by Google

owne, and now planted in the Castle of Ballimartyn. I have absolutely refus'd this Licence, and since that I have rec^{d} another L^{re} from him upon the same subject, wch tells mee hee has a Patent under ye Great Seale to fortifie Charleville (another house of his) wth Forts and Bullwarks, and to mount and use Great Guns on the said Fortifications. My Lord of Orrery, as y^{r} Lo^{p} knows, is a person with whom I have had a long acquaintance, and one to whom I shall allwaies bee ready to make expressions of civilitie and friendship, yet in a case of this nature I thinke it my duty to acquaint y^{r} Lo^{p} with ye matter that I may receive his Maj^{ties} commands, for wth out his Maj^{ties} especiall Commission I will never, while I command here, suffer any private men to have possession of a regular fortified Place, furnished with Guns, and if my opinion bee asked upon this subject I thinke it may prove of more dangerous consequence to have it otherwise then at first sight it may seem, for if one noble man bee allowd a strong place, another great man may desire and cannot well bee denied ye like Priviledge, and if many noble men should have them four or five of these great men, combining, may give the King the same trouble as the Barons of England have in former times their Kings.

All places of strength ought certainly to bee in the King's, and in no other hands, wch I shall keep entirely soe while I remain in this Kingdome, unless his Maj^{tie} order the contrary.

* * * * *

Digitized by Google

XI.—The Earl of Essex to Lord Clifford.[a]

[Stowe 499, fo. 28.]

My Lord, Dublyn Castle, Aug. 31, 1672.

Yr Lop may bee pleased to remember that near the time of my departure from London, upon ye closing of ye Establishmt for this Kingdome, five hundred Pounds a year were reservd with intention that, if I should find cause to move the King in behalf of this City of Dublyn, it should be restored to them agen. The unhappy differences wch have bin among them, and were by his Majties orders of Refference referd to my self and the Councell here, I find to bee one of ye uneasiest parts I have to compose at ye entrance of my Govermt, and, let it be determind wch way it will, must leave a very considerable part of this City much distracted. I have, therefore, thought it most conducing to his Majties service to make a composure of ye matter, and having employed some persons to try what either Partie doe insist upon, wee have brought them so neer one another, as I am perswaded it may bee ended, to the satisfaction of both Parties, wch being done I confess I should bee glad if I might bee instrumentall in procuring the restitution of ye five hundred pounds a year to this City, and to that end I desire yr Lop will bee pleasd to mind his Majtie of it, and that I may have an Order to insert them into the Establishmt, wch, if I shall see that by their compliance upon this occasion they doe meritt, I will put it in execution, but if not, I will suspend doeing any thing in it.

* * * * *

[a] Lord High Treasurer. On the same day Essex writes to Arlington expressing the fear that he may be thought slow, but he is taking time to avoid mistakes. On Sept. 21 Clifford tells him that "there appears to us here another face on all the affaires of that kingdom since your L'ps arrival than there hath done for many years before."

Digitized by Google

XII.—Charles R. to the Earl of Essex.

[Vol. i. fo. 192.]

[Essex is to prepare, but not to issue, a proclamation for raising or abating foreign money as he thinks best. The king thinks that the new coining of farthings[a] in England, which are to be current in Ireland, will remedy the difficulty Essex mentioned in Letter VII. All licenses for taking money out of the kingdom have been revoked, the Duke of Ormond giving up his voluntarily. The despatch then proceeds.]

Charles R.

* * * * *

As to ye matter of regulating Corporations, wee have considered of ye principall points represented by you to have beene drawne up & reported to ye Councell by ye Comittee appointed in that businesse, & are of opinion & accordingly Our Pleasure is, That as to that concerning ye Oath of Supremacy to be taken in all Corporations it bee fixed as a Generall rule, that noe person whatsoever bee admitted into any Place of Magistrature or Government in any Corporation within that Our Kingdome till hee shall have first taken ye Oath of Supremacy, except such as Our Lieutenant for ye time being, or other Chiefe Governor for ye time being shall think fitt for some particular reasons to dispense wth in that behalfe, & suitable to this Our Pleasure is, that you doe even forthwi^th^ & at ye same time that you shall execute this rule in ye generall towards Corporacõns make use of ye Power of dispensing in this particular of ye Oaths with such persons in any Corporations as you shall find qualified for that grace by their Loyalty, Sobriety, prudence, estate in trading, or other particular considerations.[b] And as to ye encouragement to bee given to Forreigners to come & settle themselves in that Our Kingdome, wee think it of great advantage to Our said Kingdome, & accordingly Our Pleasure is, That you doe

[a] The Lucas-Farthings. See Parl. Hist. vol. iv. p. 474, 1671, Feb. 22.

[b] The Declaration of Indulgence, which claimed the dispensing power, was issued on March 15, 1672.

Digitized by Google

take care that all Forreigners, as well Protestants as others, be admitted into Corporacõns, & this is what wee think most necessary to be signified to you at ye present in those matters.

* * * * *

Given at Our Court at Whitehall ye 31st day of August, 1672, in ye 24th year of Our Reigne.

XIII.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

[Stowe, 499, fo. 30^b.]

[Urges a speedy investigation into the disposal of lands pursuant to the late Act of Parliament. The people, especially in Kerry, are very intractable owing to the prolonged delay.]

* * * * *

XIV.—Charles R. to the Earl of Essex.

[Vol. i. fo. 216.]

Charles R.

Right Trusty and Right Wellbeloved Cousin & Councellour, Wee Greet you Well. Whereas Wee are given to understand that the Earle of Orrery hath applyed to you for your Lycence & permission to plant certaine greate Guns in his Castle or House of Ballymartin within that Our Kingdome,[a] and that hee doth further pretend to Power under the Greate Seale of that Our Kingdome to fortify one other of his Houses called Charle Ville in Our said Kingdome with Forts and Bullwarkes, and to Mount and use Greate Guns on the said Fortifications, Wee cannot but take notice to you how unfitt Wee thinke it That any such Lycences should be granted,

[a] See Letters V. X.

Digitized by Google

And therefore Wee doe not onely well approve yor refusall of the desire he made as to Ballymartin, But further Wee will, and accordingly Wee doe hereby sufficiently authorise and require you to give order for the recalling and revokeing in such way and forme as shall bee found necessary the said Power and Lycence soe pretended to be granted to him to fortify his House of Charle Ville as aforesaid, in case upon enquiry you doe finde that any such Lycence or Authority has been granted to him, which Wee cannot but Looke upon as a surprise of a dangerous nature upon us, if indeed Wee have att any time heretofore made him such a Grant. For which these Our Letters shall bee Your Warrant. And soe Wee bid you heartily farewell. Given att Our Court att Whitehall the 7th day of September in the 24th yeare of Our Reigne 1672.

XV.—The Bishop of Derry[a] to the Earl of Essex.

[Vol. i. fo. 235.]

May it please Yo^r Excell^cy, Londonderry, Sept. 13, 1672.

The Applications wch I have made to my Ld Chancelo^r, haveing carryed wth them an Address to yor Excell^cy by his Grace's com̃unication, in ye whole account of ye late disorder here in London Derry ;[b] It will be but Actum agere to make any further representations of ye particulars of y^t affaire, especially, if to ye narrative transmitted, His Grace hath com̃unicated also to yor Excell^cy what

[a] Robert Mossom, DD., an Englishman. Precentor of St. Patrick's, Dean of Christ Church, Dublin, and Prebendary of York, consecrated April 1, 1616. Died at Derry, Dec. 21, 1679 ; buried in the cathedral.

[b] See Letters VII. XX.

Digitized by Google

is given in Answer to ye Rioters' Complaints; by which will appear not only ye innocency but also ye necessity of mine & ye Magistrate's proceedings. And however they may seem unseasonable at present, yet (I doubt not) but in a little process of time yor Excell^cy^ will experience them very usefull in ye clear discovery of these (Northern at least) Presbyterians' tempers. I was myself personally employed in all ye late comotions in England from first to last. And from ye experiences I had of ye first beginninge, I still hinted to ye Ld Lieut as lately to yor Excell^cy^, what I conceived of the turbulent temper of these persons, wch would upon occasion break out into tumultuous practices; And this is now made evident in part, & if not nip't in ye bud, being overaw'd by force, will hereafter shew it selfe to ye full.

But yor Excell^cy^ can by ye just measures of prudence descern ex pede Herculem. And that yor Excell^cy^ may not judge me heedles of that transmit to ye King before my leaving Dublin; It was upon y^t^ reason, that, in ye Order of restraint published, it was declared to be only till his Maties Lycense should be produc't; And in ye consult wth ye Maior & ye present Governors, we did verily believe, y^t^ this order would have restrain'd their Assemblys; But their dareing impudence, out vy'd our more modest confidence; & being engag'd by Campsie's[a] Menaces, we should have been trod on as dirt (& ye whole Ministry wth us) had Magistracy been baffled by their bold Attempts. Indeed ye great learning now is y^t^ by experim^ts^, & this hath influence into ye State as well as ye Schools. So y^t^ to confirme ye Representation made by me to yor Excell^cy^, & by yor Excell^cy^ to ye King, concerning these peoples principles and tempers, this experim^t^ comes seasonable & patt, wth out w^ch^, I have reason to imagine, my intimations of danger in this place, & to this Garrison, would be no more credited at Court now then formerly; And so, ye Insolence of this party become reserv'd to a season in wch they could not be so easily supprest, as now their late Riott (to shew their conformity to ye beginnings of

[a] Presbyterian minister at Londonderry.

Digitized by Google

ye late Comotions) they have back't (on Tuesday last) wth a scandalous & factious Libell, of wch my Ld Chancelo^r will give Yo^r Excell^cy an Account, transmitted to him by this post. I Humbly beg Yo^r Excell^cy^s Patronage in this Grand affaire, & protection in this dangerous place; wth out wch I must crave leave to retreat to Dublin for security to my selfe & family, where I may doe w^t I cannot here, viz., pray for yor Excell^cy & preach to the people in safety.

XVI.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

[Stowe MS. 499, fo. 33^b.]

My Lord, Dublyn Castle, Sept. 14th, 1672.

On Wednesday last, being the eleventh instant, I received two Lres from ye L^p, and ye same day ye duplicate of one of them arrived here too. I am very glad they are come, and give y^r Lo^p many thanks for their soe speedy dispatch, for till I had them I would not venture one step in ye regulation of Corporacions, but now that I am soe completely instructed in that perticular I shall proceed to the perfecting and imposing of ye Rules, wherein I shall exactly pursue his Maj^ties directions signified in his Letter.

The City here, whom I lately believd to bee in a temper of compliance one with another, and that they would of themselves have readmitted their excluded Aldermen,[a] and composd all their differences among themselves, are now resolved to come to a hearing before the Councell Table, and in regard tis doubtfull whether the sentence of the board may be gratefull to the commonaltie, and and considering some unhappy Tumults wch were the last year about a bridge, wherein I am told 7 or 8 men were Kild, the better

[a] Before the 28th the Council had, on Essex's demand, restored their recorder and aldermen, accepting the new Regulations, and elected Essex's nominee, Decy, to the mayoralty. fo. 55^b.

Digitized by Google

to secure this City from any disorder that might possibly happen, and above all that I may not expose his Maj^ties Authority to bee affronted, I have thought fitt to order four of the Army Troops to Towne. I confess I doe not believe there will bee any stirs among them, but, however, I am sure wee shall not be less obeyed by the multitude when they see some Soldiers among them. I have causd it to bee reported abroad that I intend by turns to see all the Army here, and that I will (to that end) constantly order four Troops to bee in Dublyn, and to change them every two moneth, but I shall only doe this till I see the City composd, and setled to ye Rules wch I intend to impose upon them. There will bee a necessity of allowing these Troops some thing more then their ordinary Pay during the time They shall quarter in this City. Three Pence a day to each Trooper was the usuall allowance extra-ordinary upon the like occasions, wch for the 4 Troops will very litle exceed 600*l.* per Añn, but I am confident six moneths will bee as long as I shall keepe any of them here. This money if his Maj^tie please may bee paid out of the five hundred pound pension reserved to bee restord to the City upon my recommendation, wch I shall never give them till by their obedience and submission to his Authoritie I see they deserve such a favor from him.[a]

* * * * *

[a] Permission to give the £500 was granted Essex during the month. fo. 244.

Digitized by Google

XVII.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

[Stowe MS. 499, fo. 40b.]

My Lord, Dublyn Castle, Sept 17th, 1672.

* * * * *

My Ld Powrs Regiment was yesterday shipt.[a] I heard of no disorder among them, but least any thing might happen at parting, as there did at Kinsale, last year upon the shipping of some men for England, I order'd two Troops of Horse to bee drawn up on the Shore, whilst the men were shipping. I am confident yr Lop will hear my character, as of a very severe and ill natur'd man towards the soldierie here, and I confess I am forced in a great measure to bee soe, for there has bin so much remissness in that Part of the Administration of ye Governmt, and so much permission of all men to quarter when and where they please, as I find they take it very ill to bee put into a new method. I am almost tir'd with the applications of some to continue in the quarters where they have long bin, and of others, to permitt some files of men to bee guards for their houses,[b] but I have bin so hardy as to refuse all suits of this nature, it being very important to his Majties Service to keep ye Companies full in their severall Garrisons, not suffring any files of men to reside by perticular Licence in the Officers' houses (wch has hitherto bin indulg'd them) for fear, not only of weakening ye Garrisons, but of giving the Officers opportunitie of making fals musters, for no man can know whether these men are in being, while they are kept at their private Houses.

I make no doubt but I shall receive all ye countenance I can

[a] It illustrates the occasional difficulties of communication with England that this regiment returned to Dublin on the 20th, "in an ill condition, many of the men have been mad, and some of them are dead," f. 50. On Jan. 3, 1673, the west wind prevented all communications from Arlington reaching Essex—nine packets were due in Dublin. Power's regiment finally reached England on Sept. 28, with the greatest difficulty.

[b] *e.g.* Orrery. See Letter IV.

Digitized by Google

expect in my Proceedings here, for it shall I hope be allwais found that I direct all to his Maj^ties^ service and to no other end whatever, yet I have bin a litle more perticular upon this subject then the nature of it needed, in regard I know so great a change as tis necessary for mee to make here must of necessitie bring along with it some ill will, but I know in all these cases tis but being a litle resolute at ye first and afterwards all will comply.

* * * * *

Among other Proposalls for encrease of money in this Kingdome, one has bin offer'd to mee wch meethinks seems the likeliest, but I cannot well judge how practicable it may bee. 'Tis This, Wee suppose here that there will this Winter bee great want of Provision in Holland, and therefore, if there were a permission gain'd from England, that this Kingdome might transport beef and other provisions into Holland,[a] not w^th^standing the Warr, it might return great profitt to us; tis certain the Dutch will supply themselves some way or other, and is it not better for his Maj^ties^ subjects to have profitt by it then for others to reap the advantage? There are, I confess, some difficulties in the way, but the discours is too large for a Letter, therefore it shall content mee only to have made the Proposition, and leave it to ye Lo^ps^ consideration; only this I am confident of, that 'tis not any trick, as the raising of the value of money, or any other litle project (wch can only give a litle relief for ye time) that can restore plenty of money to a country that wants it, but it must bee some solid Foundation of Trade such as perhaps this may prove that can bring plenty of coine into a Kingdome.

The setling of Rules for the Corporacions makes this a buisy time with us here; the generall ones for all Coporacions were pas'd this morning and sign'd by the Councell; one addition wee have made to them not mentioned in my former Letters, wch is ye Oath ag^t^ ye taking up of Arms by virtue of ye King's Authorite ag^t^ his

[a] England had been at war with the Dutch since March.

Digitized by Google

Person.[a] I presume this Addition to this other Oathes here in force will not bee misliked. Wee must make particular Rules for eight or 10 of ye greater Coporacions, and some peculiar ones for this City of Dublyn; wherein I shall not faile of my care to pursue his Maj^ties^ instructions in this behalf, and to accommodate the Ruls as properly as may bee to ye constitution of each severall Corporacion, tho' I fear our shortness of time, as the greatest circumspection that is possible will not hinder us from falling into some errors.

* * * * *

XVIII.—Charles R. to the Earl of Essex.

[Essex Papers, vol. i. 279.]

Sept. 28.

[All prosecutions in criminal causes on account of the "late rebellion" are to be stopped, as previously ordered in the time of Ormond.]

* * * * *

XIX.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

[Stowe MS. 499, fo. 55.]

My Lord, Dublyn Castle, 1 Octob. 1672.

* * * * *

I have rec̃d severall Lr̃es from his Maj^tie^ concerning the Corporacion of Dundalke. The Lr̃es themselvs are some of them so contradictory one to the other as by them it appears to be a matter of intricacy; and upon consideration of the business I am apt to fear, if I should pursue the commands I have rec̃d of renewing ye charter of this Corporacion, and restoring all their

[a] This occurs in the English Corporation Act of 1661.

Digitized by Google

Lands wch were enjoyed by them on 22 of Octob. 1641, it would intrench upon some clauses in the Acts of Settlement and Explanation; sure I am the [a] Presid^t of this will extend further then can be readily foreseen. There are heads enough at worke to take any opportunitie to make a breach into these Acts, and this very thing of Corporacion Lands is the most plausible of any Thing can fix upon to introduce some change in the Acts, and therefor, in my opinion, ought to be ye more narrowly watcht. I have, therefore, for ye present respited any proceedings upon this Letter, and have transmitted my Ld. Dungannon's Petition, who will employ some to take care of his business in England, and upon any further signification of his Maj^ties pleasure (after ye whole shall be thoroughly considered together wth ye consequences of it) I shall readily execute such commands as shall come to mee either by another Letter, or by intimation from y^r Lo^p to proceed upon these wch I have allready rec̃d.

Some of ye Rules for Corporacions are by this Post transmitted to y^r Lo^p; those for Gallway and Limmerick are ye same, only wth this addition, that for election of Magistrates it shall be by ye Mayor, Aldermen, and com̃on Councell, and not by a Popular Vote. This we have done conformable to ye first proposals wch I sent to y^r Lo^p, and wee have declar'd it only in ye Rules for these two Citys, in regard that in all ye other Citys of Note ye constitution of them is so already, and in Gallway it has bin controverted, whether the Freemen in generall have a Vote in ye Election of Magistrates or no; so to setle all we have given ye Rule.

The Rules for this City doe a litle differ from all the others. By ye next y^r Lo^p shall have copys of them too.

[a] Precedent.

Digitized by Google

XX.—The Bishop of Derry to the Earl of Essex.[a]

May it please Yo^R Excell^cy, Oct. 4, 1672.

Having receiv'd intimation from my Ld Massereen That, to make a composure of o^r contention here should be wth yor Excell^cy's allowance, I crave leave to Signify to Yo^r Excell^cy ye Chieftains of ye P^esbyterians pty here, Mr. Campsie, Mr. Burnside, and Mr. Cunningham, have engaded (in Scriptis), in behalfe of themselves & the rest of their perswasion, that they shall not hold any meetings in their house w^thin ye walls, unless they may doe it w^thout offence to his Matie & ye Ld Leiu^t of Ireland. And upon this engagem^t I cease all further prosecution, if yor Excell^cy is pleas'd to allow of it. Their Rabbies, who sent me a challing of despuite, have been wth me, & are over come into a Conference of kindnes, upon better advice waveing what might be obnoxious to censure by authority. So y^t I hope we shall return to o^r former friendlynes of neighbo^rhood. But then I must humbly implore yor Excell^cy that they may not return to their former meeting house, wch they engage shall not be, whilst it is an offence to doe it. And may it ever be an offence to yor Excell^cy, ag^t all ye importunitys of reconcileing yor Excell^cy to it, So shall I & my Family, & those Few Royallists & Conformists here, pray for yor Excell^cy in peace, as the gratefull returne of yor Excell^cy's care & cando^r in this affaire, infinitely obliging ye duty & devotion of him who is, &c.

[a] See Letters VII. XV. On Oct. 1, Arlington sent directions that the garrison of Londonderry was to be strengthened against the Nonconformists.

Digitized by Google

XXI.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.[a]

My Lord, Dublyn Castle, 8th Octob. 1672.

* * * * *

I have here enclos'd a Copy of ye Bishops of Londonderry's Letter, by wch your Lo^p^ will find ye Terms wch those Non Conformists are at present brought to, wch I hope for a time may keep them quiet, but ye cure of that evill must be by another course, for I find that allmost all ye seditious Preachers of Scotland,[b] who are so factious and turbulent there as ye Government will not endure them, do upon their banishment out of that Kingdome repair hither, and these are ye men who are most followed by ye multitude. I have emploied some persons to learn out their Names, and some Accounts I have had of them already, but not so perfect as to instruct me what to offer to yor Lo^p^ on this subject; only this seems to be proper, that a constant correspondence be held between ye Governor of this Kingdome and those who have ye management of Affairs in Scotland, that so notice may be given when any of these seditious Preachers are prosecuted and sentenc'd in Scotland, and that their name may be return'd Hither to ye end they may not harbor in this country.

'Tis apparent that all ye Inland Counties on ye North East of Ireland, tho' inhabited by Scots, are yet very conformable good People, whereas all ye Sea Coast peopled by that Nation are a very factious and turbulent generation, wch can proceed from no other ground than that wch I have hinted to your Lo^p^. I hope within a weeke or two (after all my intelligence from these parts shall be come) I shall be able to offer some expedient to his Maj^ties^ consideration wch may be fit to be applied for ye redress of this growing mischief.

* * * * *

[a] On the same date Essex writes to the Bishop approving of the conditions named in the latter's letter, and urging that if the Nonconformists observe the treaty, "the greater tenderness that is used towards them the better."

[b] Frequent mention of this occurs in the Lauderdale MSS. (vol. ii. p. 220, &c.) On Oct. 26 Arlington wrote to Essex that he was in consultation with Lauderdale on this point [f. 326].

Digitized by Google

XXII.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

My Lord, Dublyn Castle, Oct. 26, 1672.

I have bin so ill of late as I could not my self give you any account of Affairs here, nor am I yet well enough to doe it with my owne hand.

We have publisht a proclamation in pursuance to his Majties Letter prohibiting all persons to commence any suits for any Actions committed in ye late War,[a] a Copy whereof is transmitted to Sr Joseph Williamson.

Yesterday, at Councell, we committed to the custodie of ye Serjeant-at-Arms one Philpott, a person very seditious in ye time of ye late disorders of this City. The ground of his committment was for contempt of our Order made in determination of those differences, wherein we declar'd all elections of Magistrates since ye illegall exclusion of ye Recorder and Aldermen to be voyd, notwthstanding wch this Phillpott being one of those so illegally elected, comes into ye Court of Aldermen on ye 17th day of this present moneth, and places himself there as one of that body, for wch presumption we have now committed him.

We also proceeded upon ye deteinder of moneys by ye Farmers upon pretence of defalcations and we find they have at this present deteind nineteen thousand five hundred pds in their hands; I have hitherto bin gentle to ye Farmers in this particular hoping that they and ye Comrs of ye Treãry might come to some agreemt among themselvs, but finding no such agreemt like to succeed I have now put an end to that matter, and order'd ye Farmers immediately to pay in ten thousand pds of this money so detein'd, wch if they doe not perform, I have left ye Comrs of ye Treãry to take their court for ye whole according to Law, indeed I see plainly that money will be wanting here; the Kings rents allmost of all kinds will faile;

[a] See XVIII.

Digitized by Google

and there will be a necessitie of his Majties suppliing ye want wth English money, or otherwise ye governmt will fall into great disorder; I doe not looke upon our want to proceed so much from ye present war (tho' that too has some share in it), as from ye generall decay of Trade, and this occasioned principally by a late Act of Parliamt, wch so strictly prohibits all Trade between this Kingdome and our West Indian Plantations (upon wch score ye Farmers of ye Revenue doe now demand and must have a considerable defalcation). Before this Act this Kingdome had setled a considerable Trade thither of Beef, Butter, and Tallow, and other commodities, wth wch this country abounds; but, being now denied all Traffique there, they can find no place to vent it; 'twas believ'd, when this Act pas'd, that ye prohibiting of Traffique between Ireland and ye West Indian Plantations would be of great profitt to England, if so, I see no wrong England can have in allowing some proportion for ye maintenance of ye Governmt here, wch I fear yr Lop will quickly find will be necessarie to be done.[a]

I have not as yet sign'd any Orders signifying my pleasure of dispensing wth particular persons from taking ye Oath of Supremacy in case they be elected Magistrates of Towns; but so soon as I had pas'd ye Rules for ye Coporacions I sent to those who were ye Agents here for them of ye Roman persuasion to give me in some Lists of Names of ye wealthiest and most substantiall Trades in each Town, wch Lists were brought in to me just at ye beginning of my sickness, wch is ye occasion I have done nothing in it as yet, but I shall now speedily proceed to ye licensing of such persons as I shall think best qualified for his Majties favor in this particular.

From Gallway I hear there are very great meetings within ye Town of those of ye Roman persuasion. They write me word from thence that everie Sunday there meets in one house at Mass much greater numbers then ye whole Garrison consists of, but I must tell ye Lop withall that They meet very peaceably, and no way disorderly either in words or otherwise.

[a] See Report from Commissioners of Customs on this matter, Letter XXXIX.

Digitized by Google

I am a litle unsatisfied wth those People of Galway who made their complaints to me at my first coming of being beaten and ill-used by ye Garrison and other Protestants there, and I know they have not bin behind hand wth their clamors in England too. I have put their business in a way of hearing, and will be sure to doe them all ye right and justice They can expect, but they are perpetually putting in new replications, and introducing new matter wch of forme ye other side must aunswer in writing before ye whole can come to a hearing, wch makes me suspect ye Complainants only desire to clamour, and doe not care to have ye Truth of ye matter lookt into.

These are all ye particulars wch at present are worthy ye giving ye Lo^p^ an account of.

* * * * *

I have a Coñson to Coll: Rich: Talbot to coñand Capt. Davis his Troop.

XXIII.—The Bishop of Downe[a] to the Earl of Essex.

May it Please Y^r^ Excell^cie^. Oct. 29, 1672.

* * * * *

I have been intent as this short tyme would permitt mee, and resolve to waylay all opportunityes for ye future. I have gon to severall Non-conformists ministers, invited them to come to mee, and must leav the issue to God and tyme.

But for the prezent, though they cement heer, they are really two partyes. One they cald the publique men in Scotland, wch were for his M^ties^ Restauration, and those are the moderate party;

[a] Thomas Hackett, D.D., an Englishman, educated at Trinity College, Dublin; chaplain to Charles II., Dean of Cork, 1661, consecrated Sept. 22, 1672; deprived 1694, by Royal Commission, for non-residence, neglect, &c. Died August, 1697; buried at Lisburn.

Digitized by Google

The others they call'd here Remonstrators, whoe were against it, very seditious ags^t their governors there—presbytery, Universityes—and therefore were driven out hither, whoe are mad, factious, preaching up the people's liberties, spreading seditious books printed in Holland since this War, of wch some are fixt and some they call Itinerant preachers. A particular character of these (by the best information I could possibly obtaine) I have presented y^r Excell^cie by the Hands of Sr Henrye Ford. These excite ye people to outrages ags^t their legall incumbents, in which some have been beaten and batter'd for doing their dutyes, and in travelling on the high way, without any provocation given. These Nonconformists likewise performe all parochiall dutyes heer, and defraud y^r Ministers of their dues (not content wth preaching only as they are in England), and what is of most wicked consequence, after they have marryed persons, the coupled on discontents part, and pretend they were not legally marryed.

Yet I humbly conceiv all this does not amount to ye fearing any publique trouble, or making soe much as a publique noyse (y^t ye Irish need bee counteract to ballanc them), for they are but lately come, disowned by all the principall men, and may bee as silently return'd whenc they come, as when they come, if it bee don soone.

For any occasions or scandalls that they may pretend justly to arise from o^r clergy, I hope, by God's blessing, to remove them all from them, and ye clamo^r from y^r Excellency.

I doe not altogether despaire of bringing some of the moderate to a faire Treaty. Those I have already discorst w^th, and they promise to decoy in ye rest.

I hope likewise to divide them, wch I have essayed by suggesting to them probabilityes of kindnes for those y^t are moderate, and y^t the violent only hinder them from, and that therefore they will be concernd to dycriminate themselves from y^t party, that soe they may bee capable of ye favors intended them.

These little things I am at present agitating, suitable to ye low sphere I moove in; and subjecting all to ye highest, in which y^r

Digitized by Google

Excellenc presides, whose influenc we must have to sho, and imploring the guidanc and blessing of God on y^rs, wch shall bee the constant prayers of,

My most Honord L^d,
Y^r Excell^cyes most obliged votary & Servt,
THO. DUNING.

Lysnegor, Oct. 29.

My humble opinion is, that they overvalue the Nonconformists heer whoe think a tolleration needfull, because they generally did conforme till of late, and the indulging only 2 ladys opened the present gap by giving countenanc to others, and it requires but the courage of denying their intercessions to stop it.

XXIV. ANONYMOUS[a] TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

[Undated.]

Your Ex^cy will soone understand (if you doe not already) that his Ma^ty is not verry well pleased with the New Rules, &c., concerning Corporations. The best office that your friends could doe you was to lay the Saddle on the right horse by telling his Matie this truth (which he believes), that ye same were prepared by the Councell before your comeing over, and that what you did was at their Instance and by their advice, who have shoulders broad enough to beare it. Remember, that if the Lyon say the Foxes Eares are hornes, thair is noe disputeing the case. Though your Ex^cy hath power in many cases, insteede of obeying, to represent the inconveniences of his Ma^ty's Comands, yet under p^etence thereof to serve the turnes of Private interests cannot be verry acceptable. Felix quem faciunt, &c., verbum sapienti.

* * * * *

[a] There is no clue to the writer. The letter is in a formal hand. The terms of expression, perhaps, point to Halifax.

Digitized by Google

XXV.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

My Lord, Dublyn Castle, Octo. 29th, '72.

I give y^r Lo^p ye trouble of this private Lr̃e upon 2 or 3 particulars, wch your Lo^p may keep to y^r self, or otherwise, as you shall see cause.

In the first place, I cannot but a litle complaine of a Petition of one Patrick Groome o^r Grim, setting forth a judgment obtein'd ag^t him for matters acted in ye late War, that a Petition should be admitted of in England, and Order given there upon, before he had made any complaint or address to me here, especially since his Maj^tie granted his Order before my departure from England (as my Lord Clifford well knowes), that no particular complaint of injustice or oppression be admitted here ag^t any, unless it appear y^t ye Partie made first his address unto ye Lieutenant.[a] I can assure y^r Lo^p y^t my Lord of Strafford, who had ye like engagement from ye King, never fail'd to imprison any whom he perceiv'd were about to make their complaint in England before they had made their address to him. And tho' I have given all ready compliance to his Maj^ties commands herein, yet give me leave to tell y^r Lo^p y^t unless this article be kept intirely wth him who governs here, he will be scorn'd by all, and have but an uncomfortable employment. If ye Govern^r shall give a Judgm^t in any case, ye Partie y^t thinks himself agriev'd may appeale to his Maj^tie, and ye cause as it stood here, wth its proofs, is to be transmitted into England, and ye judgm^t may there be revers'd, and this without any dishonor to ye Lieu^t, for there is no man but may erre, but if once men find a way open to pass by ye Lieu^t, and have their cause heard at first instance in another place, for my Part I thinke it does litle less then destroy ye Governm^t here. I desire y^r Lo^p to excuse the having bin so large upon this subject, but truly ye matter is so essentiall y^t I could say no less upon it. What I have said I speake only to y^r Lo^p in particular, and leave it wholly to y^r Lo^p to doe what you thinke fitt in it.

* * * * *

[a] See next Letter.

Digitized by Google

XXVI.—The Earl of Arlington to the Earl of Essex.

My Lorde, Whitehall, Nov. 12, '72.

By last night's post i received foure of y^r Ex^lcy's; one of ye 26, two of ye 29, and one of Nov. 2. The substance of all wch i will by ye first occasion i have comuniquate to his Ma^ty and receive his pleasure upon them, that I may with all speede impart it to y^r Ex, wch i hope may bee by ye next post. In ye meane time i herewith enclose ye remarques made upon ye rules for Corporations,[a] wch i promised you in my last, having now ye King's leave to sende them to you; i doe not answer for ye sufficiency of them, having but cursorily reade them over, but i suppose, if his Ma^ty bee satisfied upon them, most of his exceptions will cease, and consequently those of standers by, who, according to their accustumed liberty, censure this matter as they doe all other, wch I hope y^r Ex will easily teach y^r selfe to beare, as well as i doe, when you satisfy y^r selfe that you doe y^r duty by serving the King according to his directions; and, having been soe long in that country, you cannot but knowe that nothing can bee done favorably to one party without loosing for that time ye good will of ye other, and consequently enduring all ye ill effects of it, at least from their tounges. Y^e right, I am perswaded, lyes in ye midle following, which I am perswaded will at long runne bee ye best course, although for ye present it have not ye approbation of either.

Y^r Ex remarque upon his Ma^t's admission of a petition here, wch regularly should have been first prevented there, hath much reason in it; i promise you that for ye future I will warr^t ye observance of

[a] On Nov. 5, Arlington had written that the issuing of the rules was to be suspended until the meeting of the Privy Council, where, as we learn from the anonymous Letter XXIV, there was strong opposition. The paper of exception was answered by Essex at once and at very great length. A formal letter of suspension from the King accompanied Arlington's letter. See Letter XXXIV.

Digitized by Google

that rule as well as I can, but ye truth is that particular seeming soe greate a point of State, it seemed to require a present remedy, and, perhaps, those in favor of whome it was to be applied doe too much suspect ye generality of the Counsel to bee too earnestly bent against them, wch made them come hither.

* * * * *

XXVII.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

Dublyn Castle, Nov. 30th, 1672.

[Has received, and will presently answer, the exceptions to the Rules for Corporations; agrees with Arlington as to the "middle course." "If men should be admitted to have reparation for all the trespasses and injuries done in the time of the war here, it would turn the world upside down."]

XXVIII.—The Earl of Shaftesbury to the Earl of Essex.

Exeter House, 13 Dec. 1672.

I returne my most humble thanks to y^r^ Excellency for ye favour and honour of y^r^ congratulac̃on.[a] I will assure your Excellency the King could not have put a man in this place more your servant. And yet, puting your letter & postscript togeather, I cannot but apprehend that I have been represented from hence to you as one that hath spoken against your L^p^, or some of your proceedings.

If soe, give me leave to say, your intelligence out of England is not soe good as your Excellency ought to have. For I am sure the direct contrary is only true. I am the more jealous that this

[a] Essex's letter is dated Nov. 30. Shaftesbury was made Lord Chancellor on Nov. 17.

Digitized by Google

hath been soe, because I have been served in the like manner with severall other persons, & upon severall other occasions, by some worthy persons here that are exceeding skilful in these lesser arts, but can doe noe business. Besides, my starrs have not been very propitious as to Irish affairs or Governors.[a] But I rely upon your goodnesse and wisdom to over-rule those starrs. And that you would believe it impossible for me not to be infinitely ambitious of your friendship whilst you please to allow it me. And that I shall never omitt any thing that may make it appeare how sincerely I am, &c.

* * * * *

XXIX.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

My Lord, Dublyn Castle, Dec. 14th, 1672.[b]

Tho' my recoverie be not yet so perfect as to enable me to undertake a thorough consideration of those Affairs wch have bin coñitted to me by His Maj^tie^ relating to ye Governm^t^ of this Kingdome, yet I thinke it my duty to make y^r^ Lo^p^ at present this short returne to his Maj^ties^ Lr̃e of ye 5th of Novemb^r^ concerning ye suspension of those Rules for Corporacions wch have bin publisht since my coming hither.

In ye first place I beseech y^r^ Lo^p^ to acquaint his Maj^tie^ that I am resolv'd, wth all obedience, to observe his Maj^ties^ Commands concerning ye suspension of these Rules, tho' it be attended wth many difficulties.

The Magistrates of all ye considerable Corporacions in Ireland have bin elected according to these Rules, and if I should exactly pursue his Maj^ties^ commands according to ye Tenor of his Lr̃e, w^ch^

[a] He is no doubt referring to Ormond, Essex's predecessor, whom he had, in conjunction with Buckingham, vehemently attacked.

[b] On same date Arlington writes to warn Essex that the Dutch are meditating an attack upon Ireland.

Digitized by Google

requires me to continue them in ye same state They were in before ye making of these Rules, then I must put out all ye new Magistrates and replace all that serv'd last year; it will inevitably cause great disorder and confusion, and therefore I forbear acting any thing in y^t^ particular till I shall receive his Maj^ties^ further pleasure therein; but for ye future there will be no new occasion of making use of these Rules till Michaelmass next, wch is ye Time for ye Elections of all ye considerable Corporacions in this Kingdome, so that upon ye matter They may be look'd upon as in ye mean time suspended.

The Elections of ye Citty of Dublyn are not indeed as yet perfected according to ye Rules, nor shall I suffer them to proceed therein, only I thinke it fitt to acquaint y^r^ Lo^p^ that in this late Election there were eight or ten of ye Roman persuasion chosen into ye Coñon Councell, whom I should have readily dispenc'd w^th^, and qualified to have bin of y^t^ number, without exposing them to ye Oath, wch They so much scruple, had not his Maj^ties^ Lr̃e interpos'd, wch has hindred my further proceedings in this Affair.

The whole Coñon Councell of this Citty lies at this time at great uncerteintie; For ye old Coñon Councell, wch were for life, and all Protestants, cannot meet by reason of this new Election, and Those newly elected cannot meet by reason of this suspension. I desire y^r^ Lo^p^ to move ye King for an Aunswer as to this particular Rule, wch concerns ye Citty of Dublyn, in regard ye Citty may not too long continue as it were wth out Governm^t^.

One thing more I cannot omitt, wch I am apt to thinke may be some little mistake in ye Letter, for by a Clause there I am forbid to intermedle in ye passing of any Charters to Corporacions, wch for ye present stops that of Dundalke, for wch I had granted a Warr^t^, and it now stays at ye Seale till I can receive some directions from y^r^ Lo^p^.

I doe observe that this his Maj^ties^ Lr̃e is not enterd in ye Signett Office, and yet some out of England have bin so industrious as to send Copies of it hither, wch are spread all ye Kingdome over, and

Digitized by Google

that before I had health enough to peruse it, wch I had not till w^thin this weeke.

* * * * *

I have now prepar'd Aunswers to ye objections ag^t ye Rules, but They are so voluminous as they will require some time to transcribe. I hope to send them by ye next.

XXX.—The Earl of Essex to the Marquis of Worcester.

Deare Brother,[a] Dublyn Castle, Dec. 14th, 1672.

My indisposition will not yet permitt me to use my owne hand, tho' I hope I am now in a faire way of recoverie.

If you please to let me hear from you how my case stands in England, and who are my friends there, wch is necessarie for me to know, you may safely communicate any thing of that nature to this Gentleman, Mr. Godolphin, one of my Secretaries,[b] his is a secure hand, and w^tever you thinke fitt to acquaint him wth I dare promise for him hee'll faithfully bring it to me.

XXXI.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

My Lord, Dublyn Castle, Dec. 17th, '72.

* * * * *

My Lord, I must once more desire y^r Lo^p to get me an Aunswer to y^t one Rule wch relates to ye alteration of ye Comon Councell in

[a] His wife was Essex's eldest sister Mary, widow of Henry, Lord Beauchamp.

[b] This is Frank, elder brother to Sidney, the Lord High Treasurer of Queen Anne's reign. He was secretary to Lord Berkeley, Essex's predecessor. He died Aug. 13, 1775, at Dublin. Much of his correspondence with Essex is in the MSS. He signs himself Fra : Godolphin.

Digitized by Google

Dublyn, for there are great practices on foot here to put this Citty in disorder, and this morning, there being an Assemblee of ye Ld Mayor & Aldermen, The Mayor declar'd y^t^ he would have none of those of ye Roman persuasion who have bin elected to serve of ye Coñon Councell, but none of ye Aldermen, except Sr John Tothill, as I am told, would joyne wth him, nor can he now if he would put them by (if once they had my dispensation from taking ye Oath of Supremacie), for he himself, in ye presence of a Table of Aldermen, has allready allow'd Them.

My Lord, I have given you ye Trouble to make a narration of these particulars, because I make no doubt but some of my good Friends here will write to their Intimates in England and make this wch ye Mayor has done to-day to be my Act, because I happened to send in ye morning before their meeting to speake wth him. I doe assure y^r^ Lo^p^ it was upon other business, nor did I in ye least knowe he intended to offer any such motion.

* * * * *

XXXII.—Francis Godolphin to the Earl of Essex.

My Lord, London, Dec. 24th, '72.

I arrived here with much difficulty Saturday last ; my L. A.[a] raises more scruples against your proposal then I expected, whereof hee promised mee to write your Ex^cy^ his sence by this post. I hope either to find out some expedient to make it passe, or to bee able to give your Ex^cy^ satisfaction that there will bee noe need of it ; ye best light I have yet had in your Ex^cys^ affayrs here has been from Sr H. Capel,[b] who has been very curious and industrious in all your concerns. I can onely say in general, that every thing is better then I

[a] Arlington.

[b] Younger brother of Essex, and his loyal supporter.

Digitized by Google

expected to find it, & I hope your Ex^cy has but one enemy among us here, whom you will easily guesse.[a] My L. M. of Worcester sayes he will make it his busines to give your Ex^cy ye satisfaction you expect from him.[b] I have not yet had time to sollicite my L. A. upon any of ye other points wch your Ex^cy gave mee in charge. I was this day at Chiswick & Zion, where I learnt that my Lady has a quantity of thea that has layn some time at Worcester house, wch I will take care to have sent to Chester by ye first convenience. Lres from Flanders confirme ye relief of Charleroy, & y^t ye P. of Orange & ye Spaniards are much dissatisfied with one another.

* * * * *

XXXIII.—The Earl of Arlington to the Earl of Essex.

My Lorde, Whitehall, Decemb. 24th, '72.

In my last leter by ye last post I told y^r Ex: that Mr Godolphin was newly arrived, since when I have had leisure to heare from him what you intrusted him with to offer to mee, with circumstances of much advantage to my selfe, of which I cannot make any other use then in assuring my selfe anew of y^r friendship which I have never misdeserved yet nor will willingly doe as longe as I live, of which I conjure y^r Ex^ce to bee most confident, and I say it the more earnestly now because I heare others have malice to suggest ye contrary.

As to ye thing it selfe I have had an oportunity of acquainting his Maj^ty with ye pressing instances made to y^r Ex: to allowe of an Agency to support ye Protestants' interests in that kingdome, and to bee intrusted with some well qualifyed person neare his Ma^ty, ye supposition of which neede hee lookes upon as an offensive and injurious one, wch I told M^r. Godolphin I knew hee would doe at his first opening the matter to mee, his Ma^ty added, if they have

[a] Probably Ranelagh, Orrery, or Anglesea.

[b] See Letter XXX.

Digitized by Google

any thing to complaine of, why doe they not doe it by my Lorde of Essex to mee, from whome I cannot but take well whatever hee represents to mee of that or any other kinde; in a worde, my Lorde, you will doe y^r^ selfe the greatest wronge in ye world if you bee over shie in this. His Ma^ty^ added further, what are these men apprehensive of? it is true I have isseued a Coñission to make enquiry after all landes unwissly posessed by any body, that I might apply the benefit of it to those who weare frustrated of their expectations given them by ye Act of Settlement, but have upon all occasions declared I would protect and stande by ye Act it selfe whatever it hath established, knowing what a confusion the breach of it would cause. Hee was pleased to adde further, I have autorised the bringing Roman Catholiques from abroade to live in the Corporate Townes, but I have been content to qualify their admission to beare offices wth stricter rules then weare imposed upon Rome in my father's time, and such as ye counsel there have in effect advised. My Lorde I neede adde noe more of his Ma^ts^ discourse upon this subject; by this little y^r^ Ex: sees his minde therein, and consequently you must resist with all y^r^ might the nomination of any kinde of Agency as before expressed, and charge y^r^ selfe entirely wth making such representations to his Ma^ty^ of all kinde of grievances, assuring y^r^ selfe and them that you shall procure them full satisfaction upon them.

* * * * *

Digitized by Google

XXXIV.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, Jan. 18th, 167$\frac{3}{4}$.

The last Tuesday's post brought me in 4 Lr̃es of y^{r} Lo^{ps}, being of y^{e} 14th, 21st, 24th, and 31st of Decemb^{r}.

I presume I need say no more then what I directed Mr Godolphin to tell y^{r} Lo^{p} of y^{e} confidence I have of y^{r} favor and friendship, and that nothing that ever I may hear shall ever alter me from that opinion.

As to ye Agencie[a] wch has bin propos'd, I did before I writt to ye Lo^{p} give some discouragement to it by telling some of those who have offer'd at ye Proposition, that I could assure them in his Majesties name that ye Act of Settlement would be supported, a breach into wch is ye thing they most apprehend, as also that they need not suspect ye King's care of them in all things; but I found them so instant upon it as I am apt to thinke some particular men will employ persons in ye Court to be a little watchfull of businesses relating to this countrie, tho' I am very confident I can hinder any from being sent as an Agent for ye Interest of ye Adventurers and Soldiers in generall, wch I shall take care to doe.

I long very much for an answer concerning ye Rules. I must needs say that ye Letter for ye suspending of them, as ye matter has bin order'd, has bin of great disadvantage to me,[b] for numbers of Cõpys (as I have formerly given y^{r} Lo^{p} an Acc^{t}) have bin sent over, and read in all ye Coffee Houses in Towne, and ye People by some instruments here have bin dealt with to Petition me for an abrogation of these Rules, wth a clause that if I did not doe them right in this particular, according to ye King's Letter, they would immediately have right in England. I have, indeed, by some of ye soberer sort, prevented any address of this nature;

[a] See preceding Letter. [b] See Letter XXVI.

Digitized by Google

but I am sure I need not say any thing more to y^r Lo^p to urge ye inconvenience wch will come to his Majesties Affairs here, if once those who are employ'd by him in ye goverment, should become thus contemn'd.

* * * * *

XXXV.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, Jan. 20th, 167¾.

I have just now receiv'd y^r Lo^ps of ye 14th instant, together wth ye Letter from his Majestie concerning ye Rules,[a] and ye Acts of Setlement, both wch are very wellcome to me, and especially that wch relates to ye Act of Setlement, for, tho' I have ever since my coming into this Countrie made it my business to confirm all men in ye belief that these Acts would never be in ye least measure violated, yet have I allwaies found that ye generalitie of ye English who enjoy their estates upon these new titles could not shake off their apprehensions of loosing them again.

* * * * *

XXXVI.—The Earl of Essex to Sir Joseph Williamson.[b]

S^r, Dublin Castle, Jan. 21st, 167¾.

I was surpris'd to find in ye Gazett, wch this last post brought, a passage relating to this place, and I thought ye more strange of its being inserted into ye Gazett, in regard y^r self, who is Agent for

[a] The Privy Council had approved the Rules, though to save appearances they are to be put in action by degrees.

[b] Afterwards succeeded Arlington as Secretary of State. He was one of the English plenipotentiaries at the Cologne conference, of which he sends a full account to Essex.

Digitized by Google

Ireland, has ye inspection of them before they are made publick; whereas ye Intelligence it self is a very great falsitie, Sr John Tottye having bin presented wth a chain, but by one Single Guild, cal'd ye Merchants Guild, and not by ye whole body of ye Citty. The ground of presenting him wth it, however it may be cloath'd with fine words, was for his opposing me, and ye Goverm^t^ here, and, whereas ye Gazett cals him a person of known Loyaltie, I know him to be a person of as much disloyaltie as any about this Citty; and one, who with ye assistance of some others, as ill men as himself, has brought a considerable part of ye Citty to that mutinous temper, as I fear twill put ye King for some considerable time to ye necessitie of keeping more Troops here then has formerly bin needfull. I think I might justly expect from ye Agent of Ireland, That no intelligence concerning this place should be put into ye Gazett, unless it comes from me, or one of my Secretarys; and I hope for ye future there will be better care taken, and as to this wch is past, I desire ye justice of you, to examine ye matter strictly, who it was that occasion'd ye putting of it in, and that it may [be] trac'd out who gave ye intelligence from Dublin.

I thinke it very possible you'll find one who now cals himself Nevill, and has gone here by 3 severall names, to have ye principall hand in it; if you desire a litle character of ye man, he was first a Prompter to Plays, afterwards Sr Ellis Layton's[a] Broaker to make his bargains, and ye principall person who put this Citty into that disorder that I found it at my first coming, and continues still by his intelligence to doe what mischiefs he can to ye Goverm^t^ here.

Tho' this matter may seem but a Trifle (and perhaps is no other in it self), yet I cannot but tell you ye divulging of it in ye publick News booke, wth those characters of advantage to persons who oppose ye Governm^t^, is a thing wch may produce very ill effects in this Countrie, where most of ye Cittys and Towns are apt to take example from this, and therefore I think it may not be amiss, after you have examin'd and found out ye persons from whom this fals

[a] Leighton.

Digitized by Google

intelligence came, that something contradictory to it be inserted in some other Gazett.

I have used a great deal of freedome wth you upon this occasion, but in my apprehension his Majesties Affaires here require that you should have ye Knowledge of all these particulars, therefore I doubt not but you will take it with ye same good intention as it is written.

* * * * *

XXXVII.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, Jan. 25th, 167[illegible].

I have communicated his Majesties late Letter to the Lords of ye Privy Councell, with whose advice I thought fitt to publish a Proclamation declaring his Majesties resolution not to infringe ye Acts of Settlement and Explanation, and tho' I think it an unreasonable doubt in any that should suspect ye contrary, yet certeinly 'twas no less then necessary to declare his Majesties intentions in this particular, especially since ye Irish doe almost universally discours that they will have their lands agen; and some of them in ye remote parts of this Kingdome have forcibly enter'd and taken possession, for proof of wch I herewith transmitt to y^r^ Lo^p^ 1 or 2 depositions wch have bin taken before ye Justices of Peace in ye countrie, wch among some others of ye like nature have bin sent to me.

* * * * *

Digitized by Google

XXXVIII.—The Earl of Essex to Sir Arthur Forbes.

S^r^, Dublin Castle, Jan: 25th, 167¾.

His Majesties Letter concerning ye Rules for Corporacions, but especially that Clause wch relates to ye Acts of Setlem^t^ and Explanation, is receiv'd here with infinite satisfaction, and, that this latter part may be made publick to all people in this kingdome, we have thought fitt to issue out a proclamation, wch does as closely follow ye words of ye Kings Lr̃e, as could be fram'd into a Declaration of that nature, a cõpy of wch Proclamation I herew^th^ send you.

By a Lr̃e lately writt to my Lord Conway, who is newly arriv'd here, you desire directions from me in order to ye returne; ye presence is of great use to me in relation to all our Affaires here, and especially that wch concerns ye army; but I thinke, however, since you are on that side ye water, it may be not amiss that you stay'd a litle ye beginning of this Sessions of Parliam^t^, wch is now neer at hand, unless his Majestie should otherwise command you.

By Lr̃es from Mr Godolphin I perceive there is much difficultie made of furnishing this Kingdome wth Arms and Am̃unition; I desire you would make his Maj^tie^ sensible of ye necessitie of a supply, and especially for that of Powder wth wch I found ye stores (as you know) very slenderly provided as to ye proportion, and that litle wch did remain grown naught wth keeping. I cannot but much wonder at ye pretence wch is used to avoid ye furnishing us wth these so necessary Provisions, wch is, that Ireland must maintain it self, wch no doubt it would doe were not much of ye money dispos'd of, part for gifts, and part for other occasions out of this Kingdome. And it were worthy ye representing to his Majestie, that ye whole revenue is by ye Establishment dispos'd of, and no sufficient reserve of money to answer ye supplies of this nature; as also how unreasonable a thing it is to dispute whether Powder and Armes should be paid for with English or Irish money, when as at

Digitized by Google

ye same time if any unfortunate accident should happen, the whole Kingdome may be lost for want of it, nor can any man, that is, in my station, be well answerable for his Trust if there be a dificiencie of such provisions. Mr Godolphin will assist you in prosecuting this business.

From all my friends I hear how much I am oblig'd to you for ye good character you give of me, wch shall upon all occasions be ever acknowledg'd by &c.

* * * * *

XXXIX.—Commissioners of Customs to Lord Clifford.[a]

May it please your Lop. Feb. 10, 167[3].

In pursuance of your Lop. reference signifyed to us by Sr Robt Howard, wee have considered of ye Letter of his Excellency ye Lord L^t^ of Ireland & ye Paper annent to it; and having fully weigh'd ye matters therein contained, wee doe humbly present your Lop. wth ye following state thereof.

The severall Plantac̃ons in America having been first Planted from this Kingdome of England wth the losse of ye Lives of many men, & a vast Expence of Treasure, the trade therefore of those plantac̃ons hath been by severall Lawes & Acts of Parliam^t^ appropriated to England alone. And this is also ye practice of other Nations to keep their plantac̃ons enter'd to themselves.

That wch is now proposed on behalfe of ye Irish nation, That they may have Liberty for a certain number of ships during the present warre or his Matie Pleasure to trade to ye Plantac̃ons and unlade in Ireland, paying his Matie there the halfe penny ℔ pound, notw^thstanding^ ye Lawes in force to ye contrary, because of ye want of trade in that kingdome by reason of ye warrs, wilbe very prejudiciall to ye trade & interest of this nation.

[a] See Letter XXII.

Digitized by Google

For by such an allowance ye Kingdome of Ireland will have ye oportunity of vending not only their owne manufactures, but those also of other parts of Europe in ye Plantac̃ons, where only those of England were before sold. And their navigating cheaper then ye English because of their plenty of Provisions will at least put them in a condition to undersell ye English, and so ye manufacture of England must necessarily ly upon their hands, and ye navigation thereof be much obstructed.

This will unavoydably create ye setting up of Ireland in Trade and Wealth on ye basis of ye Ruine of this nation w^th^out any increas of Revenue or advantage to his Matie, but very much ye contrary. For all traders to ye Plantac̃ons will more readily goe for Ireland where they may expect better advantages by Bills of Store & otherwise from ye farmers of ye Revenue there, then ye Constituc̃on of ye present management of ye Customes in England will allow of, & consequently will much lessen his Ma^ts^ Customes heer in Linnen, Brandyes & other Comodityes wch pay great duty in importac̃on, & are hence exported to ye Plantac̃ons, & make Ireland ye staple of all Plantac̃on Comodityes.

As to what is alledged on behalfe of ye sd Kingdome of Ireland in relac̃on to ye present warre, as an argum^t^ for granting them ye Liberty desired during ye Warre, will easily be answered when it is considered that the whole burden of ye warre lyes on ye Kingdome of England, & that it partakes more of ye effects of ye warre by hindrance of trade than Ireland can doe.

The danger wch is intimated in ye paper, of ships coming from ye plantac̃ons to Ireland, and from thence hither according as they are obliged by their bonds, being chiefly attested on account of Privateers infesting ye Irish Coast, wee doe for that matter matter humbly present to your Lop. That no Ship goeing from England to ye Plantac̃on, or coming from thence, can be any wayes directly bound for Ireland w^th^out absolute forfeiture of their bonds, & therefore it may be supposed that no ship puts into Ireland but upon some extrordinary necessity, or in expectac̃on of more then ordinary advantages.

Digitized by Google

Besides all this, If ye Liberty of twenty ships should be granted wch is insinuated as ships of small Burden, they would easily be furnish^t^ wth ships of Greater Burden from ye New England men, & others who have found ye encouragem^t^ from ye farm^rs^ of Ireland to ye ruin of ye fair Trader here. Nor can it be duly kept to a Limited number of Ships considering ye convenience & number of their Ports, but it would in time amount to a gen^ll^ Liberty. At least ye charge of collecting ye halfe-penny per pound in Ireland will neer ballance ye Revenue that will arise to his Matie thereby, and will certainly be a great losse in ye Customes heer.

All wch w^e^ humbly submit to your Lo^p^.

RICH. TEMPLE. WILL. THOMSON.
Wm GARWAY. F. MILLINGTON.
JOHN IPTON.

Custome House, London,
10 February, 1672.

XL.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ARLINGTON.

MY LORD, Dublin Castle, Feb. 11th, 167[illegible].

Having lately receiv'd his Maj^ties^ Lr̃e concerning ye setting out of some Ships to convoy ye Merchant men wth order to charge ye Paym^t^ of them on ye moneys design'd for ye Marine Regiment; upon view of ye Acc^t^ of what has bin disburs'd here since my coming, and wch is not compris'd within ye Establishm^t^, together wth ye severall summs dispos'd of by way of gifts, I find there will be so small a remainder of that money as will doe very little towards ye carrying on of that worke, nevertheless I doubt not but to find some Merchants who will, upon this occasion, be ready to advance some proportion of money to be repaid out of ye future paym^ts^ of

Digitized by Google

this fond, but yet to doe such a business as this is thoroughly, as also to compass another worke, wch I am mightily inclin'd to have effected, I mean ye repair of his Maj^ties^ Forts in this Kingdome, wch lie all in a most miserable ruinous condition. I can think of no other expedient but ye calling of a Parliam^t^, and tho' I will not engage in ye absolute proposing of a thing of this nature to his Maj^tie^, untill I have discourst wth some of those who can best informe me what supplys ye People are able to give, yet I am much deceiv'd if they are not willing to straine themselves very far on any such publick acc^t^. Another scruple I have, that it may not be unfitt to see what success his Maj^tie^ shall have this Sessions in England, before any such thing be thought of here, for most certain it is that whatever is acted in England will be imitated in this Kingdome; however, I think it may not be amiss if y^r^ L^P^ please to know what his Majesties opinion is in relation to it.

* * * * *

XLI.—

[Interesting news reaches Essex from London. The King, Sir Robert Southwell writes (Feb. 22), in the matter of the Indulgence, is puzzled how "to solve his own honour to the world, and gratify those who can only give him a supply against his enemies." Lord Aungier,[a] (Feb. 22), speaking of the Bill for the ease to Protestant dissenters, says, "when we have finished cooking it we shall throw it out of window." Arlington admits the reasonableness of Essex's reiterated demand that no representations or complaints be allowed to reach Charles from Ireland before having been submitted to himself. On March 8 he hears of Charles's surrender of the Declaration of Indulgence, and of the great joy in London. He himself notes the bonfires and illuminations in Ireland in token of the satisfaction there.]

[a] Third Baron Aungier of Longford, Viscount Longford, 1675, and Earl of Longford, 1677. Captain of horse, 1660; commissioner of the revenue, 1682: keeper of the great seal, 1697; member of Privy Council, governor of Carrickfergus, and master of Ordnance. Married daughter of Arthur, 1st Earl of Donegal; died Dec. 22, 1700.

Digitized by Google

XLII.—The Earl of Essex to Francis Godolphin.

Mr. Godolphin, Dublin Castle, March 7th, 167¾.

I am glad to hear by yrs wch I receiv'd yesterday, the Powder intended for this place will be sent so speedily.

I have recd advice from England that ye Dutchess of Cleaveland has obtained a Grant from his Majtie of ye Phœnix Park here, tho' (as I hear) she has bin pleased to show so much respect to me as to take ye Grant after ye expiration of my time, and therefore as to my owne Particular I need to be concern'd ye less at it; yet, knowing ye inconveniences that every chief Governor that is sent hither must live under if he be deprived of this Park, I think it were very fitt it were represented to his Majestie before it be too late, for ye Truth is (as ye well know) tis ye only diversion that this place affords, and without it a man must live like a Pris'ner, and in case ye Governr should happen to be sick he has no where to retire to but only one of these Houses, and has not so much as Grass for a Horse, or any convenience but what is afforded by that enclosure; Therefore, I would have you represent it as effectually as you can to my Lord of Arlington, or any other of ye Kings Ministers, as you shall think fitt, that if possible it may be prevented.

* * * * *

XLIII.—The Earl of Essex to Sir Arthur Forbes.

Dublin Castle, March 7th, 167¾.

[An urgent remonstrance against the proposed withdrawal of troops from Ireland to England.]

* * * * *

Digitized by Google

XLIV.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Shaftesbury.[a]

My Lord, Dublin Castle, March 8th, 167¾.

* * * * *

My Lres tell me ye Dutchess of Cleaveland has beg'd ye Phœnix Parke to be given her at my return from this emploimt; I am confident if his Majestie knew ye inconvenience that every chief Governor must live wth here, if he be deprived of this Parke, he would not pass ye Grant.

This Castle is, of it self, one of ye most incommodious dwellings that I ever came in, and there is no Place of pleasure belonging to it, nor any House to retire to for a litle Aire upon occasion of sickness, but only those within ye Parke; nor will ye Governor have ye command of a Buck for his owne Table, nor a litle grass to turn out his Horses, if this Park be disposed off; besides a very great part of this ground, and indeed of ye very best Land, has ever, for some hundreds of years, belong'd to ye Sword; so that I cannot but concern my selfe in a thing of this nature, knowing how great a lessning twill be to any who shall succeed me in this Emploiment, who indeed will live rather like a Prisner then a Governr.

This is not ye first time this Parke has bin in danger to be passed away, for ye Duke of Monmouth (as I hear) had once a promise of it, but very frankly quitted it.

I hope yr Lop will concern yr self in ye stopping of this Grant, for indeed tis one of ye unseemliest things I have known done, and I am sure 'twill be very much for his Majesties service to prevent it.

* * * * *

[a] Printed in full in Christie's *Life of Shaftesbury*, Vol. ii., App. iv., p. xlvii.

Digitized by Google

XLV.—Francis Lord Aungier to the Earl of Essex.

[E. P.—Vol. ii. fo. 253.]

May it please Y^r Ex^cye, Lond. Mar. ye 15th, 167⅔.

I am but just now return'd out of ye country, where I have spent fower dayes, & therefore am not so well instructed in ye affaires wch have pass'd in Parliam^t since my last as to be able to give y^r Ex^cye a particular acc^t of them. But calling upon Sr Arthur Forbes, I have glean'd from him what I am now to tell y^r Ex^cye, viz. 1st That ye Bill for his Maties supply was this day reported from ye Com̃ittee, & ordered to be engrost, but not to have its last reading till Fryday next, by wch time ye House of Com̃ons will see what forturne ye Bill ag^t ye groweth of Popery[a] is like to have in the Howse of Lords, from whence they will take their future measures. 2^ly That there have beene some hints given in ye howse of ye late encouragem^t wch has beene given to ye Papists in Ire^ld by admitting them into ye Com^r of Peace & Corporations. And that my Lord Arundell of Warder, Father Patrick, & Co^ll Richd Talbot were this day named in the Howse as ye Cheife promoters of it, & consequently very unfit persons to be so neare His Maties & His Royall Highnesses persons. But this was only sayd by one member only, & not seconded by any of ye Howse. These particulars Sr Arthur desired me to acquainte y^r Ex^cy w^th, he being not yett so well recovered as to be able to write himselfe, and he further intreated me in his name to tell y^r Ex^cy that since *ye Papists are faln upon by ye Parliam^t, he fears They may grow desperate and endeavour to disturb ye govern^t There.* And therefore he humbly submitts it to y^r Ex^cys consideration, whether in this conjuncture it be not necessary for y^r Ex^cye to *order ye Officers of ye Army to their charges and to mind carefully their guards*; wch I

[a] The Test Act.

Digitized by Google

presume to write to y^r Ex^cy^e in Cypher, because he desired me so to doe, & to beseech y^r Ex^cy to conceale ye advizer. I have directed my Brother Cuffe to attend y^r Ex^cy wth his Cypher, wch will w^thout giveing y^r Ex^cy any greate trouble unlocke what I have written, for wch notw^thstanding I humbly aske yor Ex^cyes pardon.

* * * * *

XLVI.—Francis Godolphin to the Earl of Essex.

My Lord, London, March 18th, '72.

* * * * *

This morning ye condic̃on of Ireland fell under ye considerac̃on of ye H. of Com̃ons, where, after long debate, but with great calmness & moderac̃on, 'twas referred to a Com̃ittee to draw up an addresse to bee presented his Matie, That all Irish Papists may bee put out of ye Com̃issions of ye peace; That they may not bee admitted into Corporac̃ons; That ye Popish B^pps may bee hindred from exercising their jurisdiction in Ireland; That Co^ll Rich. Talbott[a] may be removed from his com̃and, & not bee permitted to come within five miles of ye Court. Y^e Com̃ission of inspec̃on was taken notice of with some marks of dislike as tending to ye violac̃on of ye Acts of Settlement, & thwarting ye design of ye late proclamac̃on; ye examinac̃on of that Com̃ission was likewise given in charge of ye Com̃ittee. Complaint was alsoe made that ye protestant interest was weakened by disbanding and withdrawing y^e

[a] Brother of Peter Talbot, Titular Archbishop of Dublin; afterwards Earl and Duke of Tyrconnel, Deputy under James II. See Carte's Ormond, vol. iv. pp. 428 *et seq.* He was "a great undertaker for procuring Irish gentlemen to be restored to their estates." His command at this time was that of a troop of horse.

Digitized by Google

Army, and ye revenue misapplyed in penc̃ons to popish Recusants; ye Riot of Clonmel was toucht upon, & some irregular actings of Peter Talbot, who is to bee particularly named in ye addresse[a]; ye King's lr̃e to my Lord Berkeley for putting Rom. Cath. into ye Com̃ission of ye peace was read in ye house; and alsoe his Maties lr̃e to your Ex^cie^ concerning indempnity, & to prevent prosecution in criminall causes relating to ye late Warr was likewise read; ye suspenc̃on of ye Rules was menc̃oned & let fall; ye House of Lords have made several amendments to ye Bill against Popery; wch to-morrow will bee sent downe, viz., provisoes for ye Queen's servants & ye Dukes, & for a great many land & sea officers, w^ch^ 'tis doubted ye H. of Com̃ons will hardly agree to.

* * * * *

XLVII.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, March 22nd, 167⅔.

* * * * *

I doe and shall always think it my duty to obey his Majesties commands in supporting my Lord Ranelagh's and his Partners contract, as far is just; tho' on ye other hand I am obliged by my Place to hold them to their contract, and see them performe to his Majestie what they have undertaken, nor shall any either threats or civill usage from my Lord Ranelagh incline me to goe out of my way.

As for ye Caution he gives, that ye Officers shall not cheat ye soldiers, I am enough aware of that, and they all know that any Practice of this kind would immediately forfeit their commands, so

[a] Carte, p. 477.

Digitized by Google

as I have a Tie upon those, to oblige them to doe what is just; but as for him, and his Partners, I cannot deale so with them.

Notwithstanding all his compliments, I know he has another Quarrell to me, wch is my holding correspondence with y^r^ Lo^p^, or indeed with ye Secretarys of State, for he has (tho' unsuccessfully) used all ye artifices he could to prevaile upon me to hold my constant correspondence wth him himselfe, and employ him only in ye solliciting all businesses wch relate to this Kingdome. Somethings, as occasion served (wch I also alwaies acquainted y^r^ Lo^p^ w^th^), I have moved by him, and I find that for anything concerning his owne business, he has bin both sedulous, and successfull enough, but for any Proposalls relating to ye Publick, or ye benefitt of ye whole Kingdome, I have not found any satisfactory returne through his mediation.

I have bin ye more large upon this subject, that I may engage y^r^ Lo^p^ upon all occasions to prevent my being imposed upon by orders out of England, for I clearly find as to this person, that as his Interest grows so his ambition encreases, and that in a short time he, by being at hand to direct things at ye Court, will hope to make himself superiour to ye Governor here, of wch if he thinks to make me ye first example he will find he has fixed upon a wrong man.

* * * * *

Y^r^ Lo^ps^
most faithfull and most
humble servant,
ESSEX.

Digitized by Google

XLVIII.—The Earl of Essex to Francis Godolphin.

Mr. Godolphin, Dublin Castle, March 22nd, 167[illegible].

* * * * *

Here is a generall report, as if some Act were preparing to prohibite ye transportacion of any more Wooll into England. You know well how great a share of my revenue arises from ye duty on it payable to ye Sword; if any such thing be in agitation, 'twere necessary some compensation may be thought on for ye Governor here, wch may be equivalent to ye profitts of it. As to ye publick concerne of this matter, were I no ways interested in it I could not but say that such an Act would be most pernicious to England, for if this Countrie be prohibited to carry it into England, they must either vent it in forraine parts or manufacture it at home, either of wch would be very apparently destructive to ye manufacture of England.

* * * * *

XLIX.—The Earl of Orrery to the Earl of Essex.

My Lord, Ballymarten, ye 25th of March 1673.

* * * * *

Ther is noe doubt but ye house of Como^s^ in the First Article of their adres to his Maj^ty^ about Ireland doe as much as they can by an Adress owne ye Acts of Settlem^t^ & explanation, w^ch^, if they stand firme, disapoints all ye hopes the Irish had of more lands.

Their Desyer y^t^ his Maj^ty^ will Revoke his Letter of Feb. 1671 & ye Act of Councill & Proclamation thereupon for ye Gen^ll^ Admittance of Papists into Corporations (if granted) will not only

Digitized by Google

exclude them from beinge Freemen, but also Inhabbitants in thos Corporations.

That ye Desier of haveinge all Titular Arch B^ps^, B^ps^, &c. Pretendinge Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction from ye See of Rome comd^ed^ by Procla^on^ to depart this Kingdom, & on their Faylor to be proceeded against accordinge to Law (if Granted) will exasperate ye Irish in what is most Tender to all, and exceedingly soe to thos who are most superstitious.[a]

That ye votes (if Granted) y^t^ noe Papist shall be Officers & Sold^rs^ in ye Army, that noe Papist be a Justice of ye Peace or any Civill Magistrat, & that all Papists be disarmed, & that all Convents be dissolved, & all Regular Priests Banished, will at once in their judgm^ts^ Deprive them of their Religion, hoped for Estates, all Imploym^ts^ Civill & Military, all Trade & Freedom, & expell them out of Corporations, & disarme them. Wherby if thes be actually done they will be wholy disabled from any atempts in ye Townes or Field, wch probably so many of their Eminentest Clergie, Nobilite & Gentry, who most influence ye Body of ye People, will not faile to mind them of, espetially since ye Dutch are abandoned by ye Elect^r^ of Brondenburge, & consequently y^t^ they must either speedily close with His Maj^ty^ or the French, whereby France, and all other Popish Kingdoms will be at liberty to act against our Religion as vigorously as we act against Popery, & therfore tis to be wished, y^t^ all callings & Degrees of the Irish beinge thus Exasperated, & haveinge such Powerfull Fomentors thereof, as ye Universallity of their Clergie, most of their Nobility, Gentry, & all their Merchants &c., they doe not make some atempt; when they are not Ignorant, how many of this small Army have bin disbanded, how many sent for England, & how thinn of Sold^rs^ are ye Few Garrisons we keepe, & how much wantinge in most of all things to secure them, espetially of Victualls, and how many more of thes exasperated People ther are in them then ther are of Sold^rs^ & loyall Subjects, if this juncture be layd hold of.

[a] Charles was obliged to act in accordance with the terms of the address.

Digitized by Google

I cannot say this they will doe, but I can say to yor Ex^{ce} only, that tis likelyer they should doe somthinge now then y^{t} they should atempt what they did 1641; & what they did then atempt we shall not easily forget.

Then they had noe Provocation; now they will beleeve they have.

Then an English Parlm^{t} y^{t} were active enough against Popery were sittinge, yet y^{t} did not deter them then. At that time their Clergie were not neere soe high as now, nor their Gentry soe exasperated as they call it, nor soe much Sold^{ry} then as now ther people are, nor was France and Spain then at Peace as now they are, nor were ye Forrighn Protestante Princes & States soe disunited & shattered as now they are.

All this and many other considerations, too many for a letter & a gouty hand to write, makes me humbly beg yor Ex^{ces} consideration whether ye best disposition of ye small Forces you have, may not be best Imploy'd for his Maj^{ts} Service, by placeinge them (till we see what thes votes will Produce) into ye most important Garrisons only; I meane as well ye Horse as ye Foot. And whether it be not for his Maj^{ts} Service, that som quantity of Victualls be sent into ye most important Cittadels; & som Cannon in them mounted, & y^{t} ye Militias be with out noyse inspected; & ye Officers & Sold^{rs} kept strictly at their Duty, & ye Go^{r} of Important Places be Privatly Required to Double their wonted Care & Dilligence. Som wise men doe now much more apprehend ye Disunited Irish Stirring now then when Indulgences were extended to them.

All this I have written is only to Yo^{r} Ex^{cs} owne selfe, if any thinge in this letter be worth your consideration I am sure you will thinke on it, if noethinge be, pray burne it, & Pardon my zeale to his Maj^{ts} Service, Yo^{r} Ex^{ces} Peaceable Gov^{t}, & my love to my Country, wch dictated thes things to me; only I have still observed y^{t} mischefs are easier prevented then cured.

* * * * *

Digitized by Google

L.—The Earl of Essex to Francis Godolphin.

Mr. Godolphin, Dublin Castle, Aprill 1st 1673.

I know not whether Mr Brunker[a] may have deceiv'd you in his assurances concerning ye Grant of ye Phœnix Parke, but I am sure he has not at all me, for I never expected any thing of truth, or integritie from him. I doubt not of yr care in watching that business, nor doe I thinke my selfe more concerned to have it look'd after, now it appears that ye intention is to deprive me of it, then if it had bin taken from them, who shall succeed me in this employmt, for it is clear that whoever should have ye grant of it after my time, it will create an interest in them to procure my removall as soon as may be; but that wch I value more then any private concern of my owne, and both doth and will, upon all occasions, engage me much further, is ye obligation upon me to use my endeavours to hinder a thing so indecent, and wch will give so universall a distaste to all men in this country; and therefore if it should be offer'd, that my concerne should be provided for in this case, yet I would not by any means consent to it. I am pretty confident that my Commission under ye great Seale secures it to me, this Employmt being granted wth all Vailes, Sallaries, etc. thereunto belonging; and tho' his Majtie may, when ever he thinks fitt, recall me from hence, yet sure, as long as he continues me here on this Patent, ye accustomed allowances cannot be retrenched.

* * * * *

[a] See Parl. Hist. iv. p, 408.

Digitized by Google

LI.—The Earl of Essex to Lord Clifford.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, Aprill 2nd, 1673.

Having receiv'd advice out of England, that his Majestie hath given, or is about to give away, ye Parke here near Dublin, cal'd ye Phœnix Parke, I cannot but concern myself to write to yr Lop, as I have done to my Ld Chancellr, and other my friends, to interpose wth his Majtie that it may be continued (as ye greatest and best part of it hath ever done) to ye sword, and without ye accommodation whereof ye Governor will be exceeding straitned, and as many of ye Nobilitie and Gentry who come hither, as well as all ye Citizens of this Place, will be greatly disappointed of ye pleasure and satisfaction they find therein; it being as necessary and convenient to this Citty, and especially to ye Governor in its Proportion, as ye Parke of St James to you at London. I doe assure yr Lõp ye report of ye alienation of this Parke from ye present use is generally apprehended wth as much trouble as anything of this nature can be capable of, and yr Lõp will not only oblige me and all my successors, but ye whole Kingdome besides.

LII.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, Aprill 4th, 1673.

* * * * *

Some of ye Noblemen of this Kingdome are, I perceive, very ill pleased wth me for removing their Troops from their old Stations, and tis possible they may prevaile wth some of their friends in England to move the King in this matter; I give yr Lõp this hint, that if you should hear of it you would justify my Proceedings, for I intend to continue this cours of moving them, without wch ye

Digitized by Google

Troops will consist only of Tenants and Servants to some of these great men. I shall in this particular be equall to all, and not favor one Troop more then another, but every one shall take their turne to remove from their old Quarters, and I will doe it wth ye most conveniency to them ye security of ye Kingdome will allow.

* * * * *

LIII.—The Earl of Essex to Lord Clifford.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, Aprill 4th, —73.

* * * * *

I am very sensible of ye Publick mischief wch ye Kingdome of England may suffer, if some dilligence be not used to hinder ye Irish Wooll from being sent into forrain Parts, tho' I cannot but owne ye Profitt is considerable to ye Governor here, and so considerable, as I believe is scarce known in England, for it amounts not to less than four thousand p̄ds a year, so as it is ye interest of ye Governor to give encouragement to ye exportacion of it, wch will consequently encrease his gaine ; but I will never doe any irregular thing for private advantage, wch would be so great a prejudice to my owne country, and therefore ye strictest course that can be setled, to prevent ye exportacion of it into forrain Parts, shall be wth all care executed, while I continue here.

If y^r^ L̄op can, upon these hints or advice wth ye Com^rs^ of his Majesties Customs, establish any Rules proper to hinder this abuse, I shall not faile in my duty to see them exactly pursued ; and that it does deserve some consideration, and some better methods for ye future, may evidently appear by some of these Papers, wherein y^r^ L̄op will find, that of two and twenty thousand nine hundred p̄ds Penalties incurr'd (as is prov'd in ye Exchequer) since this

Digitized by Google

Patent was on foot, there has bin recover'd, and brought to account but seven hundred and seventy pds.

* * * * *

LIV.—The Earl of Arlington to the Earl of Essex.

My Lord, Whitehall, Aprill 5th, —73. No. 12.

* * * * *

Yor Excy cannot bee ignorant of the grant his Maty has made to my Lady Dutchesse of Cleaveland,[a] of the Phenix Parke for 99 years to her & his children after her, which he did upon a condicõn that it should not take effect till the expiracõn of the time of yor Excies Lieutenancy, & therefore has refused hetherto to signe the Bill till I had acquainted you with his intencõn therein, wherein I assure myselfe you will give him no contradiction, but if you shall thinke fitt to insist upon any written declaracõn of his Maties minde herein, I dare charge myselfe with obtaining it for you, although my humble advice to you is to content yr selfe with what his Maty has verbally been pleased to declare in this matter, which I am confident is abundantly sufficient in yr behalfe.

I am likewise desired by my Lady Dutchesse of Cleveland to enter a Caveat with yr Excy against a patent passing in that Kingdome of the Lordsp of Portlester, in the County of Meath, being a reverc̃on fallen expectant upon an Estate Taile decreed in the Court of Claimes, & which is within her Grace's grant.

My Lord Grandison likewise in My Lady Dutchesse's behalfe

[a] It must be remembered that Arlington had a personal interest in this matter, since his only daughter was betrothed to the son of Charles and the Duchess, created Duke of Grafton.

Digitized by Google

desires that another Caveat bee entered against a Patent by Coll Grace for lands in the King's County, they being formerly disposed of to his Lordssp in trust.

* * * * *

LV.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Shaftesbury.[a]

My Lord, Dublin Castle, Aprill 12th, 1673.

In a Lre I lately received from my Lord of Arlington, in relation to ye Phonix Parke, were these words:

[Here follows verbatim quotation from Arlington's letter, No. 54, down to the words "in your behalfe."]

By wch yr Lop may perceive that my interest is more than sufficiently preserved, but by how much ye securer I am in my owne concernmt by so much ye more doe I think myself engaged (if possible) to obstruct ye passing of that Grant, nay tho' it be even wth ye Loss of my owne convenience, for I need not mind yr Lop of a late saying of a wise man and a great Minister—That Magistrates, as well as Merchants, are supported by reputation.

I confess I know this thing to be so universally distastefull to all men here, as I would not omitt, and indeed, in duty to ye King, I ought not to omitt to use all ye interest I have, whilst there is any hope, to prevent ye passing of that Patent, and to tell yr Lop plainly my mind, I will much rather part with it presently then be bribed to consent to so unhansome a thing.

The Emperor Charles ye fifth (as ye History tells us) had a person of extraordinary worth for his Chancellr, who, having refused to pass an unreasonable Grant, some of ye Courtiers tooke their opportunitie, when ye Emperor was pleasant and in good

[a] Printed in full in Christie's Life of Shaftesbury, vol. ii., App. iv., p. xlix.

Digitized by Google

humour among some of his merry companions, to prevaile wth him to send a positive command to his Chancell^r^ for Passing ye Grant, wch still ye Chancell^r^ refused. These men of Pleasure (ye very Pest and ruine of all Courts, where in such insinuate themselves) fail'd not to exasperate ye Emperor ag^t^ this Minister, telling him how he was affronted by one whom he had raised from nothing, and that, if he suffer'd this, his servant was Emperor, and not himself, wth many other expressions of ye like kind, as is usuall upon such occasions; so as there was a 2^d^ and 3^d^ positive command wth promises of some advantage, and at last wth threats of loosing his Place in case he refused, but ye Chancell^r^ continueing firme in his resolution, still utterly denied putting ye Seale to ye Grant, whereupon those Gentlemen thought they had now clear gained their point, and ridd themselves of this good Minister, whom they alwaies found an Obstructor to their exorbitant designes, urging ye Emperor to make good his word, and send immediately for ye seals, to which this great Prince replied: "Gentlemen, you are all mistaken, for this Chancell^r^ is an honest and true man, and so true to me, as I myself can't corrupt him to be other."

Of what force such an instance as this may be wth y^r^ Lõ^p^ I cannot tell, nor will I ever censure any for having their reasoning differing from my owne, but sure I am that this and other like examples, together wth ye reason of them, have fixed me in a resolution never to give up my consent to any thing that in my conscience I know to be notoriously inconvenient.

I ought to beg y^r^ Lo^ps^ pardon for this so long Story, wch I have inserted in my Lr̃e, but if you have not met wi^th^ it before I hope it may not be unpleasant to y^r^ Lõ^p^, nor altogether improper upon this occasion, and therefore I presume you will excuse this freedom in, &c.

Digitized by Google

LVI.—The Earl of Essex to Sir Henry Capel.

Deare Brother, Dublin Castle, April 12th, —73.

I have recd yrs of ye 5th of Aprill, wch chiefly relates to ye matter of ye Phenix Parke. I am confident yr self and Mr Godolphin have fully made known to my Lord Arlington how generall a distaste twill give to all this Kingdome, and how extremely inconvenient it will be to ye Governte to have it parted from ye Sword; and therefore I conclude I need say no more upon that subject, having so fully set it forth to you and Mr Godolphin in some of my former Lres. Yet I cannot but much wonder my temper should not be a litle better known to yr self and other my friends in England in a case of this nature, then that any of you should imagine I could be bribed by my owne private interest to give my consent to a thing so dishonorable to me, wch is that I have ever and shall always utterly detest. Nay, let me tell you that I think a prooff given to ye world of my firmness in so good a resolution is of more value to me then ten times ye Parke; and therefore I had much rather, if it must be parted from ye Sword, it were given even in my time, then any of my friends should appeare to sollicite my convenience in it, so that I hope those who are, I will not say kind to me, but kind to ye King's concernmt, will not give over to obstruct this so unreasonable a grant.

Digitized by Google

LVII.—Lord Aungier to the Earl of Essex.

May it please Yo^R Ex^cyE, Lond. Apr. 12th, 1673.

On Wenesday last Coll Talbot[a] appeared publiquely in His Maties Bedchamber, where he attended to deliver his petition, wch having don as his Matie was passing through to Councill, he there waited His Maties & Councill's resolution upon it. His Petition purported his greate surprize at ye severe Sentence of ye Howse of of Coñons ag^t him unheard specifyed in their addresse to His Matie, wth wch he humbly beg'd His Matie would not comply in putting it in execution ag^t him.[b] Because, not being conscious to himselfe of haveing coñitted any crime, he would give securitye to stande and abide the judge^mt of ye Howse of Coñons at their next meeting, then whome he did not desire to appeare to other or better judges, & to whose judgem^t he had at their last meeting submitted himselfe, if there had beene time or opportunitye for it before their riseing. He therefore humbly beseeched His Matie, who was no stranger to his loyalltye & services, to suspend ye execution of ye severe sentence of Banishm^t out of his Royall presence, till ye meeting of ye Parliam^t, before whome he was willing to appeare, & did not doubt but to cleare & justifye himselfe in any crime that should be objected ag^t him. His Petition was that day read at Councill, but other affaires of greater importance intervening, the further consideration of it was putt of till yesterday, when the addresse being taken into consideration, it is sayd the Preamble wh^ch mentions ye late insolencyes of ye Papists grounded upon His Maties Indulgencies will be referred to y^r Ex^cyes Examination &

[a] "Who hath notoriously assumed to himself the title of Agent of the Roman Catholics in Ireland."

[b] March 25, 1672. The text of the Address will be found in the Parl. Hist. vol. iv. p. 579. The Commons prayed that he should be dismissed from all command, military or civil, and forbidden the Court.

Digitized by Google

Reporte thereupon. As for the Com^n of Inquirye,[a] the extraordinary powers wh^ch the Parliam^t observ'd to be in it are referred to ye Lords Com^rs, who calling to their assistance those of His M^ties Privy Councill of Irel^d who are Members of ye Howse of Coñons, are on Thursday next to take them into consideration & reporte their opinion to His Matie and Councill. As for the disarming of ye Papists, His Matie declared his resolution to comply wth the Howse of Coñons in y^t particular, & in order to it yor Ex^cy will have directions to disarme theme and all others whom yor Ex^cy shall finde cause to suspect. As for the discharge [of] all Papists out of all Coñands both Military and Civill, His Matie observed, though the Howse of Coñons had lesse cause to complaine of this now then in ye Reignes of any of his Auncestors, there be only one & y^t Coll Talbot in ye Armye, whereas in Queene Elizabeth's time, King-James, & his Father's, there were at all times severall of ye Popish Religion in ye Standing Armye, and though he were very well satisfyed wth Coll Talbot for his loyalty & good Services, yett he was resolv'd alsoe to give the Howse of Coñons Satisfaction in y^t poynt by takeing away his coñand for wch he would make him a recompence some other way. As for ye remaineing particulars of the addresse the consideration of it is putt of till Wenesday next, when His Maj^tie will declare his pleasure in them alsoe. I had almost forgott to observe to yor Ex^cy, that it is sayd Coll Talbot withdrew his Petition a few minutes before His Maj^tie went yesterday to Councill, wch makes some conjecture his appeareing in Courte for ye future will not be very frequent; I beg yor Ex^cyes pardon for this long l're, & crave leave to hono^r myselfe wth the title of

* * * * *

The Speaker of ye Howse of Coñns was on Wenesday last sworne of His Maj^ties Privy Councill.

---

[a] Appointed Jan. 17, 1672.

Digitized by Google

LVIII.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, Aprill 17th, 1673.

Having this opportunitie of conveyance by so safe a hand as ye Bishop of Downe,[a] I shall acquaint y^r^ Lõp wth some particulars relating to this country, wch are fitt for you to know, and such as I was not willing to trust by ye ordinary Packett.

Since my coming into ye Governm^t^ of this Kingdome, here is one Molooney[b], who calls himself Bishop of Killaloe, come over hither. I have spoken wth him severall times, and find him a very discreet, wise man. He is without doubt ye ablest among all those of ye Roman persuasion. He has spent most of his time in France, and I am apt to persuade my self is too eminent a man to ly concealed there without being taken notice of; he has employ'd his time since his arrivall here (and not without success) in composing ye differences, wch were among those of his owne Religion, as particularly those disputes wch have bin betwixt Peter Talbot[c] and Plunkett,[d] their titular Primate, concerning jurisdiction, and also some personall feudes wch have bin between Coll: Talbot and Coll: Fitzpatrick: I perceive too that he lives in a better condition then ye small Profitts wch he can make of his titular Bishoprick would put him into. All wch gives me ground to suspect he is a Pensioner of France.

As our Alliances now stand I humbly conceive there is no danger of this man, but in case these should vary, and that France and England should not be upon so good termes one wth another, as I presume they now are, this Person may be a most mischievous instrument. I could not, therefore, but think it my duty to acquaint y^r^ Lõp wth these particulars, that y^r^ Lõp may now in time, and whilst you have opportunities of good intelligence in ye Court

[a] See Letter XXIII.

[b] John O'Molony, 2nd R. C. Bishop of Killaloe, 1671, and of Limerick also, 1698; d. 1702.

[c] Titular Archbishop of Dublin, brother of Richard Talbot.

[d] Titular Archbishop of Armagh—judicially murdered at the end of the Popish Terror.

Digitized by Google

of France, informe y^r self of what value this Molooney is there, and wth whom he holds his correspondences. Only wth this caution that you creditt not too much any informacions concerning him wch may be sent you from Abbot Mountague, whom I know to be very much a friend to this Molooney.

The Pow'r and Interest of ye Non-Conformists here, and their greatest strength, is certainly that of ye Presbiterians, who are of ye Scotch nation. They are, I confess, a great body of People, and able men to bear Arms such as probably at some time or other may give trouble to ye Governm^t, but I cannot thinke them altogether so dangerous as some doe imagine, in regard they have no man of eminent popularitie to head them. Sr Arthur Forbese[a] is a man of much esteeme wth his owne nation; but, if I mistake him not, he is very firme to ye Crowne.

Here is a young Gentleman, my Lord Mount Alexander,[b] who indeed is a man of very good parts and industrious, and who doeth and will dayly grow in his reputation. He is a Person, by as much as I can find, of good Principles but of a narrow fortune, and not without Ambition. If some thing were thought of to oblige him it were certainly good Policy to doe it, for I take him to be almost ye only man among them now growing up who may be capable of raising their Interest to any great height.

But of all that may relate to ye Non Conformists of ye Protestant Religion I have directed this Bishop (whom y^r Lõp will find to be a very discreet moderate man, and one not unfitt to be placed in ye Privy Councell here, where some of his Predecessors have sate) to discours more at large to you then by Lr̃e I can, and if some indulgence be granted them I humbly conceive the methods wch you may designe for England will probably be ye fittest to be practised here, for generally the nearer we conforme to England in ye administracion of ye Governm^t in this country, ye firmer is ye Interest of ye Crowne supported.

[a] See note to next Letter.

[b] Son of Sir Hugh Montgomery, 3rd Viscount Montgomery, who was created Earl of Mount-Alexander, 1661.

Digitized by Google

One thing I cannot omitt upon this occasion to let y^r Lõp know. Here is one Chambres (a brother in Law, as I am told, to Bloud) who has lately set up a congregation in this Citty, and preacheth to them; he was one of those who together wth his brother attempted ye surprise of this Castle, and doubtless he is a very desperate, bold fellow. Now, tho' by his Majesties grace and favor he has got his pardon, yet surely he ought not to be suffer'd to teach others who has practised so ill things himself. I doe for ye present let him alone till I can receive some orders from y^r Lõp how I should deale wth ye whole Party, wch I am confident you will be better able to give, after you have discoursed wth ye Bishop of Downe, who has by my advice observed, and in a good measure acquainted himself with ye temper and disposition of these People.

LIX.—The Earl of Essex to Sir Arthur Forbes.[a]

S^R, Dublin Castle, Aprill 19th, —73.

I have lately rec̃d 2 of y^rs, one of ye 12th instant and afterwards another of ye 5th. By that of ye 12th I find his Majestie has taken into his consideration ye calling of a Parliam^t [b] in this Kingdome, and ye advantages or inconveniences wch may arise from it. The People I confess are generally at present but Poor, and money is extremely scarce here, for to say ye Truth since ye War wth Holland this country has bin almost like a besieged Place,[c] having had no trade but what has bin by stealth; nor doe I see any remedy for it, unless some men of war were maintain'd here to guard ye Coasts, and to convoy Merchants Ships, all wch would cost more then ye remainder of ye money by ye Establishm^t can provide for. There-

[a] Second Baronet of Castle Forbes, c. Longford; Privy Councillor for Ireland, 1670, and Marshal of the Army; Lord Justice in 1671, 1673; created Viscount Granard 1673; d. 1676.

[b] Essex had recommended this to obtain a supply.

[c] Compare the statements of Rothes and others, regarding the effect of the war in Scotland, in the "Lauderdale Papers," vol. i. 213, 226, &c.

Digitized by Google

fore nothing but a Parliam^t^ can supply this defect, unless his Majesties other Affaires would permitt some of his English Frigates to be commanded upon this service. But besides this and other Arguments used by my Lord Conway for ye calling of a Parliam^t^, one other occurrs to me grounded upon ye proposall Sr William Petty has made, concerning concealed Lands in Ireland, wch I am confident (whatever he says) can never be brought to any good effect without an Act of Parliam^t^, for it will be found that few of these concealed Lands have bin pass'd, but some Clause or other in ye Act of Explanation does confirme them, and how to clear any Enquiry of this nature from a jealousie of infringing ye Acts of Settlem^t^ & Explanation I cannot discerne. There may indeed, upon ye suggestions of these litle Undertakers, be Commissions issued out for ye searching and raveling into mens estates but of how much vexation this will be to ye subject, and wth what generall discontent it will be attended, is not difficult to imagine; for I am confident whenever any thing of this kind is put in practice by particular men, scarce any estate wch is upon a New Title will escape without a composition; besides I am well assured, tho' 'tis only my owne opinion, that if his Majestie thinks fitt to advise wth his Councell at Law they will scarce find it legall to make such bargain as Sr William Petty proposes. All wch makes me conclude that ye safest way to attempt a discovery of those great wrongs wch ye Crowne has suffer'd would be wth ye concurrence of a Parliam^t^, wch if his Majestie shall think fitt to call there are severall other bills of publick concernment wch may be thought on; as one for ye regulating of Fees in ye severall Courts, and another for ye vacating of Reversions on Offices, for want of redress in both wch cases, this nation groans under many inconveniencies. Having said nothing upon this subject to my Lord Arlington, you may please to communicate this Lr̃e to him.

I am now upon ye distribution of ye Army into their severall quarters for this next year, wherein I would gladly have y^r^ advice, for 'tis now neer time they should know their severall stations, where

Digitized by Google

they are like to be, in regard ye Grass will quickly come on, that they may provide for their winter subsistance; and therefore both for this and ye satisfaction of y^r^ company I would be very glad of y^r^ returne.

LX.—The Earl of Essex to Lord Clare.[a]

My Lord, Dublin Castle, Aprill 29th, —73.

I have lately rec̃d 2 or 3 Lr̃es from you, ye last dated ye 24th Aprill, wherein you seem to excuse y^r^ self in ye matter of Mr Yorke's ship; but let me tell y^r^ Lõp that I know ye world too well to be satisfied wth a few faire words, & I understand ye respect due to my Place better then to suffer ye slighting of it from any man in ye Kingdome. You dispatched indeed a Lr̃e to give me notice of ye seisure of ye ship, but sent it in such a manner that it should not come to my hands till ye ship was conveied away, wch Practice I cannot but look upon as a very unhansome dealing, & such as is not suitable to ye behaviour that every subject of his Majesties ought to bear towards ye Governour in this Kingdome, & wch might justly have been expected from you by, &c.

LXI.—The Earl of Essex to Charles II.

May it Please y^R^ Majestie,

A Lr̃e from my Lord of Arlington made known to me y^r^ Majesties intention of disposing ye Phenix Parke to my Lady Dutchess of Cleaveland, as also ye consideration y^r^ Majestie was

[a] Daniel O'Brien, 3rd Viscount O'Brien of Clare, d. 1691.

Digitized by Google

pleased to have of me, by respiting ye possession of it during my stay here. As I doe wth all humilitie acknowledge y^r^ Majesties extraordinary favor to me in this Particular, to wch I shall ever pay a resentment due to so great an obligation, so I cannot thinke of any means more proper to express my gratitude then truly to inform y^r^ Majestie of ye state of this matter. A great quantitie of lands now enclosed in this Parke has for many Ages belonged to ye Sword. These, I presume, y^r^ Majestie never intended to sever from it. Of ye new Lands enclosed by my Lord Duke of Ormond, neer one third Part are ye possession of Sr Richard Parsons, a minor, of 14 years of age, and therefore cannot be purchased these seven years. Upon ye whole, I find all ye Nobility & Gentry in this Country so disgusted [a] at ye probability of this Parke being given away, being ye only Place of recreation for them when they come to this Towne, that I cannot (wth humble submission to y^r^ Majesties better Judgment) advise ye doing of so unpopular a thing. Yet if it be y^r^ Majesties Pleasure to give ye Dutchess of Cleaveland a proportion of Lands in this Country (for I look upon ye designe of this Grant to be no other than Rents), I am very confident it will not be difficult to find out concealed Lands of as good a value as y^r^ Majesties intended Grant ; or if this should faile (so desirous are all men of preserving this Parke y^t^), I make litle doubt, whenever y^r^ Majestie shall call a Parliamt., they would readily give a small Tax through ye whole Kingdome to reprieve it, provided it may then be entailed upon ye Sword. In order to some compensation of this nature, I have transmitted to my Lord Chancell^r^ Particulars of all ye Land enclosed,[b] from wch an estimate may be collected of ye value of y^r^ Majesties intended Grant, &, if an Exchange of Lands of equall worth wth those new purchased in ye Parke shall be approved, I assure myselfe y^t^ y^r^ Majesties favor will have an earlier effect then if ye very thing designed had bin passed into a Patent.

[a] This word, of course, hardly bore the aggressive meaning at present attached to it.

[b] The list was forwarded to Shaftesbury on May 10.

Digitized by Google

Some Particulars of concernment relating to Peter Talbott being now under examination here, I have given my Lord of Arlington a full & true Acc^{t} of them, & therefore, presuming that your Majestie will not faile of ye knowledge of that Affaire, I shall not repeat it, but should be glad to receive some orders by y^{r} Majesties directions how I should manage that business, wherein, as in all other y^{r} Majesties commands, you shall ever find a most ready, faithfull & exact obedience from, &c.

LXII.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Shaftesbury.[a]

My Lord, Dublin Castle, May 4th, 1673.

[Essex first repeats to Shaftesbury the arguments and suggestions which he has forwarded to the King. He proceeds :—]

* * * * *

Now that I have had occasion to mention to y^{r} Lo^{p} ye concealed Lands of this Kingdome, I cannot omitt ye discoursing that matter wth you. We are told here that Sr William Petty and Sr Henry Ingoldsby have made a Proposall of giving ye King, as some say, twelve, but as others twenty thousand Pds a year for these Concealements. Tho' as, on ye one hand, I think these Gentlemen have not behaved themselves wth ye respect due to my Place, in making any Prosposalls of this nature without first acquainting me wth it, so I am confident they will never procure what they aime at, viz., a grant of all these concealements at a Rent, for in my opinion nothing can be more illegall & oppressing to ye subject then such a Patent, whereby opportunitie & warr^{t} will be given to these Projectors to ravell into ye Settlement of all men's Estates whatever, who, tho' they had never so just & clear Titles, will much rather

[a] Printed in full in Christie.

Digitized by Google

come to a composition then endure ye charges and vexations that these men will put them to; besides, if we consider ye men who undertake it, 'twill easily be foreseen wth what rigour & injustice a Grant of this nature will be prosecuted, for I am confident, in all his Majesties 3 Kingdomes, there lives not a more grating man than Sr Willm Petty. I dare say ye Practices of Empson & Dudley would be found nothing in comparison of ye vexations wch this poor Country would suffer if such a Patent should pass. The King may, indeed, give any lands that are found to be his; but if there be a Maxime in Law that ye King cannot be deceived in his Grant, then certainly no Grant can be Legall of concealments at a certain Rent, for no man can say but ye King may herein be highly deceived; therefore, this Project being in it self soe notoriously illegall, & apparently such as will prove in its execution so very oppressive to ye Subject, makes me wth much confidence assure myself that it will not take effect. There are without doubt great quantities of concealed Lands to a very considerable value, wch doe of right belong to his Majestie, but then it must be considered that his Majestie is intitled to them by ye Acts of Setlem^t^ & Explanation, & those statutes doe invest them in his Majestie as a Trustee to several particular uses therein mentioned; & if those ends are not yet answered, I offer it to y^r^ Lõ^ps^ consideration, wth what conscience or honõr those concealed Lands can be applied to other uses. I have only said this to shew y^r^ Lõ^p^ ye business will prove a good deale perplexed, & that ye whole ought to be maturely & deliberately considered before it be proceeded upon, & that some men of Knowledge in this Country, & who have well studied ye Acts of Setlem^t^ & Explanation, may be consulted wth before any resolution be taken in a matter of so great moment, & of such a generall concerne. For my owne part, I am of opinion that ye matter of liscoverie of concealed Lands will never be solidely founded but by ye Authoritie & Countenance of an Act of Parliam^t^, wch when ever ye King shall thinke fitt to call, I believe it will be no lifficult Taske to procure such an Act, wch may method it in that

Digitized by Google

manner, & regulate ye proceedings in such formes as may doe ye worke effectually, & yet wth ye quiett ease & satisfaction of ye People.

I have not had time to write to Mr Secretary Coventrie [a] by this Post. I shall therefore beg y^r^ Lõ^ps^ favor to communicate that part of this Letter wch relates to ye Phenix Parke to him, whereby you will much oblige, &c.

LXIII.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, May 4th, 1673.

It is a great satisfaction to me to hear, as I doe from all my friends, how far y^r^ Lõ^p^ has bin pleased to interest y^r^ self in my behalfe in ye matter of ye Phenix Parke; & tho' y^r^ Lõ^p^ may, in my opinion, doe his Majestie a Publick Service, yet ye kindness you have therein shew'd to me in particular shall never want its due acknowledgm^t^, & I doe assure y^r^ Lõ^p^ that nothing can be a greater contentement to me than ye Testimonies of y^r^ Lõ^ps^ favor & friendship.

I have lately had a complaint from some Friers ag^t^ Peter Talbott, ye Titular Arch B^p^ of this Place, & tho' I am confident his ill usage of them, & by my Lord Dungan's assistance his imprisnm^t^ of one, has provoked them to make this accusation, [b] yet ye matters in it are of so high a nature as my duty obliges me not to pass it by without putting it into some way of examination. I give y^r^ Lõp this early notice of this, because I know ye skill of ye Person concerned, & his Intelligences in England, how forward he will be to invent some Lies upon this occasion; therefore if any reports

[a] Henry Coventry was now Secretary of State.

[b] His appeal to the Council of Dublin was dismissed. Lord Dungan had been restored to his estate by the Court of Claims, and was now an active "undertaker."

Digitized by Google

should arrive at Court of my Proceedings ag^t^ him, y^r^ Lõ^p^ may rely upon what I now write to be ye Truth, & ye whole Truth.

The Substance of ye Complaint ag^t^ Peter Talbott may be reduced to these 3 Particulars:

First. That he had exercised forraine Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction in this Kingdome;

2dly. That he had pretended his Majesties Authoritie for ye exercising of this his forraine Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction;

3dly. That he had leavied moneys upon ye people.

The first of these, tho' it be utterly illegall, yet I did not so much regard as ye other two. Certainly ye spreading so scandalous a report as ye second of these cannot but be a crime of a very high nature. And ye leavying money upon ye People may perhaps be of more dangerous consequence then either of ye other two. I have therefore referr'd it to S^r^ Haŕy Hamilton, Sr George Roydon, & Dr Topham to examine & give me an Acc^t^ of it. Wherein if any thing shall be proved considerable, I shall not faile of acquainting y^r^ Lõp wth it.

LXIV.—The Earl of Essex to Sir H. Capel.

Deare Brother, Dublin Castle, May 7, 1673.

* * * * *

[Essex says that his Private Secretary, Sir H. Ford, is treacherously disclosing secrets to Peter Talbot and Moloony. He intends therefore to dismiss him, and asks whether Sir E. Dering will take the place. He proceeds :—]

I have writ my letter such as you may shew it to my Lord of Arlington. Here is another from my Ld Conway to Mr Attorney wth a Flying Seale that you may read it. But you must proceed in this business wth great caution, if you find my Lord of Arlington

Digitized by Google

& my Lord Treasurer[a] cold to one another, & that you are certain their friendship (as the world saith) is broken. I do then make no doubt but my L[d] of Arlington will readily put to his helping hand to rid me of this man, who is perfectly my Lord Treasurer's spie upon me; but if my L[d] of Arlington & my Lord Treasurer are still upon good termes, 'tis better to stiffle all at present, & waite for a better opportunity, till the arrival of w[ch] I shall so carry my selfe toward S[r] Hen. Ford as he shall not perceive the least dislike I have to him.

I am confident I have taken more pains in holding my correspondencys wth the Ministers in England, & particularly in writing constantly to my Lord of Arlington, than any that have ever bin in this employm[t]. I would therefore gladly know from you how my dispatches are liked, or whether any censures to my disadvantage are given of them either in relation to the matter or stile, that I represent things trivial or in improper & affected expressions, &, tho' men are very apt to flatter on such like occasions, yet you may, by some means or other, learn the truth. 'Tis so usefull for a man in my station to know what y[e] world saith of him, that I do extremely desire to he truly informed of this particular w[th]out complement or palliation.

LXV.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, June 3[rd], 73.

* * * * *

I have bin much sollicited of late by severall Persons who have employm[ts] here to permitt them to sell their commands to others; as S[r] Robert Byron for one, who I find takes it ill that I have denied him; but I have severall reasons for my soe doing; one, that if I should suffer men, as in his case, when they grow old or

[a] Sir Thomas Osborne, created Viscount Latimer, and later, Earl of Danby.

Digitized by Google

infirm, to dispose of their commands, I should scarce ever have any opportunitie of obliging any Gentleman in a thing of this nature; but ye principall reason was, that ye person whom he had recomended to it was altogether improper for such an employm^t^. Another who would have disposed of his comand is Coll^l^. Sydenham, and he has agreed wth one Nevill, formerly an Ensigne here, & had procured recomendations from some of my friends in England; but this Gentleman, Coll. Sydenham (what ever his former meritts may have bin I know not), has not come into this country since my being here, & I am apt to think he is either afraid or ashamed to be seen, for his Company lies at Carrickfergus, a place of considerable importance, & is ye only guard wch that castle has. I sent privately to enquire in what condition ye place was, & found that of his whole Company there were but 4 men & 2 boys, & never an Officer that attended there; since this, he desires to quitt his employment, but I think it more reasonable he should be cashierd then make a benefitt when he layes it downe.

I find many of ye Capteins of Horse much displeased at ye disposition of ye quarters wch I have lately made. The Truth is, they have continued so long upon their owne land & in their owne quarters, that they look upon it as almost a right due to them to keep there; but I am sure tis for his Majesties Service to have them change their quarters, & ye season of moving them most proper is in May or June, & I permitt them to rest ye whole year round in their severall stations that they may there make their provisions for ye winter, wch otherwise would be difficult to doe. Only each Troop does 2 months duty in ye year at Dublin. This method, if his Majestie thinks fitt to be continued, I conceive will be of great advantage to ye Troops, & only cost £600 a year extraordinary (to be allowed for their stay in Dublin), wch may be paid out of ye money designed for ye Marine Regiment. Within a Post or two I shall send y^r^ Lõp an acc^t^ of all ye Quarters that are now designed them. These Particulars I have mentioned to y^r^ Lõp that you may be prepared, if any application should be made to his Maj^tie^ in either of

Digitized by Google

these 2 cases ; but I hope his Majestie will réferr ye Governm^t^ of ye Army wholly to me, & I doubt not but wth ye advice of some of ye best Officers here, wth whom I ever consult in matters of this kind I shall in a little time bring it to a better posture then it hath ever hitherto bin. I confess I have been more strict in keeping them to their duty then others who preceded me in this employment, but then I have bin as carefull of them, in relation to their Pay, that they should be justly dealt w^th^, both by ye Com^rs^ of ye Trẽary & their owne Officers, as was possible for me to be.

* * * * *

LXVI.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, June 10th, 73.

A Lr̃e from my brother Harry, wch I reĉd ye last Post, acquainted me wth a Grant, lately passed or now passing, to ye Duke of Monmouth of £4,000 p Añn, pretended to be faln to ye Crowne by y death of ye late Earle of Northumberland,[a] for want of Issue Male. I cannot but look upon it as an act of great friendship in y^r^ Lõp to intimate this matter to my brother, & give you many thanks for it.

Tis well known how probable an interest I have in that Estate, & I am sure tis likewise as far from a secrett how great ye losses & sufferings are wch my family has undergone, purely for ye support of ye Crowne, &, tho' I am far from urging this last as any way meritorious, but shall ever be ready wth ye same cheerfuluess to sacrifice ye remainder of my fortune, & my person too, if ye like occasion should call me to it on so just a quarrell, yet methinks the doeing any thing that may look like an unkindness to me or my family is an usage w^ch^, I may safely say, we have none of us ever

[a] Essex married the daughter of the Earl of Northumberland.

Digitized by Google

deserved from ye Crowne, & if there be any thing of hardship to me in this, undoubtedly tis at this time done wth somewhat ye worse grace, in regard I am now actually emploid in his Majesties Service, and cannot, being absent, offer such reasons & press them so effectually as if I had ye opportunitie to speak them for my selfe.

Should there be any Lands of ye Northumberland family w^ch^, in rigor of law, revert to ye Crowne upon ye failure of an Heir Male, had that Estate immediately descended to me I could not have doubted, but ye memory of my father, together wth ye consideration of my owne endeavors to serve his Maj^tie^, would have supplied that defect. Nay, as ye case is, having married ye Sole daughter of Algernon, ye father, Earle of Northumberland (as this young Lady who possesses ye whole fortune is ye daughter of Joceline, ye son, Earle of Northumberland), & having sold many large Mannors of my Paternall Estate, meerly upon ye acc^t^ of his Majesties Service, I cannot think I am partiall to my self in believing I might have bin as proper an object of his Majesties favor on this occasion as any man living.

I am pretty confident that whoever has a Grant of this nature will not find their account in it, but yet sure I am it will bring great trouble & vexation upon ye Estate, for ye Heir will by this means be brought to prove her Title to every Inch of Land she enjoyes, a hardship w^ch^ (tho' I presume ye Lands I now possess to be very secure to me), yet I should be very loath to be put to, for who knows what writings may be mislaid or lost, & consequently what unforeseen flaws or defects may be discovered ? Next to a Practice of this sort upon my owne fortune, ye acting it on this estate, wherein I have a reall & presumptive, tho' not a present or a certain interest, is doubtless as unkind a thing as could possibly be done to me, & therefore no reasonable man can blame me for being effectually concerned at it.

I have upon this subject freely imparted my mind to yor Lõp, & doe not doubt but you will make use of it to my advantage, wch if you shall doe wth success, it will eternally oblige, &c.

Digitized by Google

LXVII.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.[a]

My Lord, Dublin Castle, 17th June, '73.

Mr Blud being now upon his returne, I have taken this opportunitie to give yr Lõp an answer to ye Lr̃e of yrs wch he brought me. I can assure yr Lõp that whoever told you that there was any particnlar interrogatory pointing at yr Lõp, in ye examination of that business relating to Mr Peter Talbott, did very much misinforme you; & it was a most malicious invention in them who first reported it, for there were no questions asked but in generalls, as what they who were examined knew concerning Mr Peter Talbott's exercising of Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction, & of his pretending ye King's Authoritie for soe doeing, as also of his leavying of money here. That yr Lõp was named by one of ye examinants, I writt you an acct in some of my former Lr̃es, but it was only thus: Talbott pretending a superioritie over all ye Romish Bishops here, Plunkett their Primate disputed his authoritie over him; & upon this Talbott affirmes he had directions from ye King or some of his Ministers to overrule all here, and therefore all their Bps were to give obedience to him. Upon this Plunkett writes into England to Father Howard, her Majesties Almoner, to be satisfied whether this wch Talbott had averred were true, & received for answer that yr Lõp had bin asked whether any such orders had bin given, & that yr Lõp denied that ever any such had gone from you. This is all in that matter, wch appear'd upon ye examinations relating to yr Lõp, & I am sure there is nothing in it but of advantage to you, & yr Lõp may be fully satisfied that there were no questions put leading to yr Lõp's name; but I am confident if ye Truth were fully known (as I have some well-grounded hints, tho' not such as amount to Prooffs), it would appear that father Patricke did write to Mr

[a] In a former letter May 13 Essex tells Arlington that the latter has been accused of backing Talbot's cause.

Digitized by Google

Peter Talbott, as in y^r Lõps name, to encourage him to proceed in his exercise of Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction, & upon this he founded his pretence of his Majesties authoritie transmitted to him by some of ye King's Ministers; but y^r Lõp sees how fully you have bin clear'd of this imputation by Father Howard's answer to Plunkett.

Having told y^r Lõp ye full of this business, both as far as I know and as far as upon probable circumstances I can conjecture, I shall give you no further trouble, but ye assurance of my being ever,

* * * * *

LXVIII.—The Earl of Essex to Sir Robert Southwell.[a]

S^R, Dublin Castle, July 8, 1673.

* * * * *

And now that I am upon this subject, I must desire y^r excuse for not making you a returne to one of y^rs, wch I reĉd some months since, wherin you proposed ye grant of a reversion of an Office for some nephew of Percivall's. The Truth is, could I have complied wth y^r desires I had writt to you sooner, but, having taken up a resolution not to grant any reversion to ye prejudice of my success^r in this Governm^t, it has disabled me from gratifying you, or any other person in this kind. I am not out of hopes at one time or other to vacate all those reversions, wch I have found upon almost every Office & Place in this Kingdome, wch has not only disappointed all those who depend on me, but it is a great mischief to ye whole Kingdome, making all men careless & lazy in gaining such vertues & qualities as should fitt them for employm^t, since they see all filled up wth reversions, & I doe not know how I can w^th

[a] The intimate friend of the Duke of Ormond, from whose MSS. a large part of Carter's Life of Ormond was derived. He was for some time envoy at Lisbon.

Digitized by Google

confidence endeavour ye revocation of those that are, if I my selfe should create more. For this reason I have kept my selfe free from disposing of any, & hope ere long to reap some advantage by it; I mean by having of it in my power to oblige some good men, among whom I assure you none has a greater share of esteeme then y^r^ self, in ye opinion of, &c.

LXIX.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, July 8, '73.

There is not any thing since my coming hither has given us more trouble then ye disputes & differences wch have risen among ye Citizens of this Towne. It were too long a Story to tell y^r^ Lõp ye originalls and beginnings of their variances, only Y^r^ Lõp knows that at my first coming I found them all in disorder, but I hoped that by ye Establishm^t^ of ye Rules, wch by advice of ye Councell have bin publish'd, all would have bin in a quiett condition, & I am apt to think I should not have bin deceived, had not his Majesties Lr̃e of ye 5th Novemb^r^ last interposed to suspend ye execution of those Rules, & Copies of this Lr̃e (as I have formerly observed to y^r^ Lõp), tho' t'was but a private order to me, were yet dispersed & scattered throughout all ye Towne,[a] wch encouraged & animated all those persons who were mutinous & discontented in this Citty to raise wrangles & cavills at what ever I did. Afterwards, upon ye receipt of his Majesties Lr̃e of ye 14 Jan., I ordered ye Lord Mayor to proceed to ye swearing of those persons whom he had acquainted me with as elected to be of ye Common Councell, among whom were ten of ye Roman persuasion, to every one of w^ch^, upon ye Ld Mayors certificate of their election, & in obedience to his Majesties s̄d Lr̃e of ye 14 Jan., & by virtue of ye Powr reserved to ye Lieu^t^ by those Rules, I gave a dispensation from taking ye oath of Supremacy. I

[a] See Letter XXXIV.

Digitized by Google

have herewth sent y^{r} Lõp a Paper wch gives a clear acc^{t} of ye whole matter of ye Election of ye Common Councell men of this Citty, & by it you will find there was a double Election of Common Councell men made, one wherein there are Romanists nominated, & another wherein there is none of that religion chosen. The discontented part of ye Citty press, that ye Election last mentiond may be confirm'd, being (as they urge) more conformable to ye Rules, & say, that if ye Papists be put out, they shall then all be united & act cheerfully & contentedly one wth another; but I know this is only a Snare sett for me, to make it appear as if it were my work to exclude these Romanists, & I am confident ye Author of ye objections to ye Rules, tho' he be in England, was a Contriver, or at least a Promoter, of this proposall; besides, I am not sure that if these men are gratified in what they pretend now to desire, whether they will then acquiesce, or rather will not afterwards pick some litle quarrell to continue on ye dispute, but I am resolved none of their litle inventions shall entangle me, & for that reason I have herewth transmitted to yor Lõp an exact State of ye business Whether it be more for his Majesties Service that these men of ye Roman persuasion be at this time brought into ye Comõn Councell here, I am not fitt to judge; but y^{r} Lõp, who is upon ye place, can best determine how this may suite wth affairs in England, and as for any concernment in this country, I thinke ye matter soe triviall as 'tis not worth ye debating, nor can be of any prejudice one way or the other; whatever his Majestie shall resolve in this particular, I will be sure to see is executed.

Should those of this Citty continue factious & disobedient, there is yet another course to be taken wth them, w^{ch}, tho' something harsh, yet, in case they cannot by other means be brought to a compliance, must be made use of, that is, ye vacating their charter,[a] & forcing them to take out a new one, wch will put into his Majesties

[a] This plan was extensively used by Charles in England in 1683, enormously increasing the influence of the Crown.

Digitized by Google

hands ye nomination of all ye Magistrates & Common Councell men. This Citty is growne very populous, therefore I conceive it highly necessary that something may be speedily done to setle ye goverm^t^ of it, wch makes me desire y^r^ Lõp humbly to move his Majestie that, as soon as conveniently may, an answer be given to these Rules. And truly tis high time to put an end to this affaire, for I have had severall seditious papers dropt in ye Castle, & by other means come to my hands, wherein they seem to look upon themselves as if they were a free State, & ye severall Corporacions in ye Citty were in a sort litle Commonwealths, & that their representatives were only accountable to them, not owning that submission to ye Goverm^t^ as is fitting. The Papers are large, but I have given you ye substance of them, y^t^ y^r^ Lõp may see how necessary tis to have something resolved of, but I am sure, & you may rely upon it, that his Majestie hath entrusted his sword in such a hand who will rather perish then see his Majesties Authority slighted.

I am opinion that, considering ye greatness of this Towne & how dayly spreads it selfe, it were very fitt that his Maj^tie^ had a good Cittadell built here, wch would not only for ye future secure ye quiett of ye Citty, but would be so firme a footinge in this Kingdome as his Majestie would never be in danger of loosing it, upon almost any revolution whatever. I know ye same has bin proposed by others formerly, but as ye Towne grows more considerable, so ye reasons for it become still more pregnant.

I have yet had no answer from y^r^ Lõp concerning ye Farthings.[b] They are a great cheat & burthen upon ye Kingdome as now permitted, therefore I wish y^r^ Lõp would mind his Majestie of this matter.

* * * * *

[a] On May 17 he had written to urge that the new farthings should be like those in England.

Digitized by Google

In the 4th Rule for ye Regulating of ye Corporacions of ye Citty of Dublin, as followeth:—

And wee doe hereby order & establish, That ye severall Guilds or Corporacions of this Citty, out of wch any persons are now usually chosen to be of ye s̄d Citty, sometime w^th^in ye month of Novemb^r^ next ensuing, & so from time to time w^th^in every month of Novemb^r^ wch shall for ever hereafter be at ye end of every 3 years, from ye end of ye month of Novemb^r^ next ensuing ye date hereof, shall elect & nominate double ye number of persons usually chosen out of each such Giuld or Corporacion into ye Comon Councell of this Citty, & by ye Masters & Wardens of each such Giuld or Corporacion shall, sometime within ye month of Novemb^r^, present ye names of such persons soe elected to ye Ld Mayor of this Citty for ye time being, who is hereby authorised & required in the presence of one of the Sheriffs & eight of the Aldermen, before ye 24th day of Decemb^r^ then next ensuing, to elect out of ye persons whose names shall be so presented ye number of Persons usually serving in ye Comon Councell of ye s̄d Citty for each such Giuld or Corporacion respectively, wch s̄d persons so presented & elected shall be by vertue of that Election for 3 years then next ensuing, & no longer, of ye member of ye Co̅mons or Co̅mon Councell of ye s̄d Citty.

Conformable to this Rule, ye Lord Mayor, on ye 28 of Novemb^r^ 1672, in ye presence of ye Sheriffs & eight or more of ye Aldermen, & wth their consent, did elect thirty-three, being ye full number, to serve as Common Councell men for ye great Giuld, among whom were ten or eleven of ye Roman persuasion. Afterwards, on ye 18 Decemb^r^, ye Lord Mayor call'd a Table of Aldermen, &, one or both of ye Sheriffs being present, did acquaint them that he was in a mistake in asking their consents to ye Election, for that ye s̄d Election was by ye Rules solely entrusted in himselfe, only limited to be perform'd in ye presence of 8 Aldermen & one Sheriffe, & accordingly then proceeded to a new Election, & went through

Digitized by Google

wth it not only for ye great Giuld, but likewise for all ye other Giulds & Corporacions, compleating ye number of ninety-six, & in this Election left out all those of ye Roman persuasion. Again, on ye 20 Decemb^r^, my Lord Mayor call'd a Table of Aldermen, ye Sheriffs too being present, & told them that he found himself in an error in what he had done two days before, & that he was now satisfied he ought to have their concurrence in ye Election, & then proceeded on ye worke he had begun ye 28 Novemb^r^, & elected ye others who were to serve for ye rest of ye Giulds, wth ye consent of ye Aldermen & Sheriffs, soe as there were then two elections in being, one made by ye Lord Mayor in ye presence & wth ye consent of a Table of Aldermen & Sheriffs, & another by ye Lord Mayor singly, in ye presence of a Table of Aldermen & Sheriffs. By ye former of these, wch was begun first but perfected after ye other, there are severall Romanists nominated; by ye latter, wch was begun after, but compleated before ye other, all those of ye Roman persuasion are omitted. Thus far was transacted purely among themselves. On ye 28 January following the Lord Mayor acquainted me that in obedience to ye Rules he had with ye consent of a Table of Aldermen & Sheriffs, elected ye Coñon Councell men, & that among them there were ten of ye Roman religion, wch I order'd him to certifie under his hand, & upon his certificate I granted my order of dispensation from taking ye Oath of Supremacy, & directed him to proceed to ye swearing of them. All those of ye Roman persuasion have taken their Oaths as Coñon Councell men, but a great number of ye others refuse to swear, & particularly except ag^t^ that short Oath enjoyn'd by ye Rules, viz.:

I A. B. doe declare & believe, That it is not lawfull, upon any Pretence whatever, to take Arms against the King, And that I doe abhorr that traytorous position of taking arms by his Authority ag^t^ his Person or ag^t^ those that are commissioned by him, wch Oath I must observe to y^r^ Lõp is imposed on all ye Corporacions of England, by a Statute made 13 Car. 2^di^, Cap. 1.[a]

[a] The Corporation Act.

Digitized by Google

A Lr̃e was lately written by ye Privy Councell to ye Citty, recommending to their care ye making of a way, wch would be very necessary & of advantage to ye Towne; To wch ye Lord Mayor, & Aldermen made this returne, that they found ye sd way would be of great use to ye Citty, but they could not proceed in it without ye consent of ye Com̃on Councell, who had bin severall times summon'd, but they could not get a compleat number of them to meet; whereupon ye Privy Councell directed ye Lord Mayor to make a generall summons of them all, & in case they should not assemble, to returne the names of those who neglected to meet, as also of those others who refused ye Oaths.

Accordingly they were all summon'd, & on Munday ye 30th of June, there were assembled 45 Sheriffs, Peers, & Commoners, who, as soon as they were together, voted themselves an unlawfull Assembly, & would therefore Act nothing. The Mayor has since bin wth me, & acquainted me wth their Proceedings, & tells me that he believes, if ye other Election made by himself, without ye consent of ye Aldermen, & wherein all ye Romanists are left out were confirm'd, ye Citty would rest satisfied; but finding this matter something intricate, I have forborne to Act any further in it, & doe humbly submitt it to his Majesties consideration.

State of ye case of ye Citty of Dublin, enclosed in ye foregoing Lr̃e to my Lord of Arlington.

LXX.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, July 15, 73.

* * * * *

And now that I am upon this subject, give me leave to offer to y^r^ Lõp my opinion, what I conceive fitt to be done in cases of this nature. To my best observation, there are few things give

Digitized by Google

more hindrance to ye improvement of this Kingdome then this wch is now so frequently practised. Men pretend discoverys of lands here wch belong to ye King, & upon that procure Lr̃es to pass Grants for them. When these Lr̃es arrive here, their usual Plea is, Let me have ye benefitt of my Lr̃e, & if it prove that his Majestie hast no Title, ye King has given nothing, & there is no hurt done. This & such other like arguments have, I find, prevail'd to pass many unreasonable Grants here, some wherein his Majesties Title has been dubious, & others wherein indeed ye King has had no Title at all; however ye countenance of a Grant under ye great Seale has bin so good a colour of Title as to enable them to commence suits wth ye possessors of these Lands, who, if poor, & not able to contest, have bin necessitated to compound; nay, there are some cases wch might be instanced wherin Patents have bin granted for Lands to wch ye King had no right at all; but yet ye Persons who had these Grants being great men, & those whose Lands were pass'd being meane, & not able to wage Law wth them, have bin forced after many vexatious suits to submitt, & part wth their Lands for 2 years' Purchase.

This having bin ye case of many men here, I shall venture humbly to offer my thoughts what may be ye most proper course to prevent ye like hardships upon ye People. Whenever any of these Lr̃es shall be received, I conceive it fitt in ye first place ye Lieu^t^ informe himselfe from ye severall Offices of ye King's Title to ye Lands intended to be given; & in case his Majesties Right appear clear & undoubted, ye Grant may then pass, but if any question doe yet remaine, it may be proper to have his Majesties Title first found by an Inquisition before ye Grant be perfected. This, in my opinion, is soe reasonable, & may be of so much benefitt to ye subject, by preventing many chargeable suits, wch have bin created in this Kingdome, by reason of Patents surreptitiously gain'd, as I purpose to forme it into a method, such as may serve to direct both my selfe, & others who succeed me in this employment, how to proceed in cases of this nature.

* * * * *

Digitized by Google

LXXI.—The Earl of Orrery to the Earl of Essex.

My Lord, Ballymartin, the 11th of July, 1673.

I Received last night the Greate honour of your Exª letter of yᵉ 8th present, And in humble Answer to it I Presume to acquaint Your Exᶜᵉ That I have bin for some weeks Past Earnestly desyred every Post, by my Friends in England, to hasten for London, which made me apprehend that to obey them I should be necessitated to undertake that jurn'y as soone as I was able to undertake it. In wᶜʰ case I Resolved to goe by yᵉ way of Dublin only to Pay Yoʳ Exᶜᵉ That Duty, wh: noethinge but my Disability of Performinge it should have soe longe hinder'd me from Dischargінge.

Wh: Resolution I still continue in. But I must confess I have used all Fittinge endeavours to obtayne from my Friends in England their leave not to goe thither, or at least to have it defer'd as longe as might be, for yᵉ Ague & the last fitt of yᵉ Goute[a] have made my knees & Ancles soe weeke yᵗ I am not yet able to goe in or out of my Couch, much less up or downe any Stares but as I am lifted by a Couple of Servants, wh: is a condition wh: makes me both unwillinge & unable to goe from home. I did therfore, above three weeks Past, write to my Lᵈ Tresuʳ of England[b] (who presses me much to hasten to London) to beseech him, untill I were able to walke without helpe (wh: I hope by yᵉ latter end of next month I should be), yᵗ he would not condeme me for not goeinge for England; but if ther were a necessity to serve my Kinge, my Cuntry, or my Friends, I would goe as I am on a week's warninge. And last night I had a letter from him in Answer to myne, wherin he earnestly desyres me to com over as soone as I can & yᵗ my health will admitt, wh: God willinge, I entend to doe by yᵉ way of Dublin,

[a] He died of this disease in 1679.

[b] The close association between Danby and Orrery, in opposition to Essex, will be noted hereafter.

Digitized by Google

& am now ye more confirmed in that Resolution, because I see tis Yo^r^ Ex^ces^ Pleasure y^t^ I should doe soe, as well as tis my Duty to waite on Your Ex^ce^ ther. I must confess to Yo^r^ Ex^ce^ y^t^ not only ye ill Habbit of body I am fallen under, but also my minde, Invites me to a Retired Life, for haveinge bin Tost about Three & Thirty Yeers in the world, & beinge tired therwith, tis Time to thinke seriously how to gett to that Haven wher only True Rest can be Injoy'd. And I believe a Cell is fitter for thos Thoughts then a Court. Besides, I have found soe much uncertaynty in the thinges of this world that, beinge now Fairly gotten out of ye Tyde of it, I would not seeke to gett into ye Streame again. And ye vicissitudes I dayly see confirmes me ye more in the choice I have made But since we are not borne for ourselves, If I be put to the sad choice of either breakinge with my Frends or breakinge off y^t^ quiet course of Life I now am in, God is my witnesss, if I must embrace the Former, twilbe merely an Act of my obedience, not my choice.

* * * * *

LXXII.—The Earl of Orrery to the Earl of Essex.

My Lord, Ballymartin, the 15th of July, 1673.

Though I Presume to hope That Yo^r^ Ex^ce^ beleeves I beere a Full Share in all Yo^r^ Afflictions, yet I Esteeme it a Duty to assure you of That Truth, & y^t^ noe servant you have does more Really Participate with you in that Greife wh: you are now under then I doe.[a]

It were not fitt, perhaps, to write to Yo^r^ Ex^ce^ what were my supports when I had unexpectedly lost a deere Brother, since y^t^ might Looke as if what Releeved an ordinary Person would also have ye like effect on one y^t^ is Extraordinary, & I know too well ye disproportion betweene Yo^r^ Ex^ce^ & me.

[a] Essex had lost his younger brother, Edward.

Digitized by Google

And it were Possibly as greate a Fault to beleeve y^t^ you need any consolation from any Body but yor selfe, whos Christianity & Courage are more able to Console you in thos sorrows the hand of God has now layd on you, then what you can Receive from all men, espetially soe insignificant a man as I am.

I will therefore only Pray that God, who has thought fitt to lessen your worthy Father's Sons, will Repare it by Augmentinge ye number of yor owne.

LXXIII.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, July 19, 73.

On ye 8th instant, I writt to y^r^ Lõp concerning ye diuisions wch are among ye Citizens of this Towne. I find they rather encrease then abate, so as twill be necessary some speedy course be taken therein. That Y^r^ Lõp may see what good doctrine is taught among them, I have here enclosed a Paper wch was found neer my Closett door in y^e^ Castle. There are 3 or 4 persons here whose discourses are much like y^e^ language of this paper, y^e^ Principall among them is Dr. Loftus, one of y^e^ Masters of Chancerie & Judge of y^e^ Prerogative, who hath of late in severall Companys declared = = That y^e^ Rules wch I made are illegall, & that y^e^ Lieu^t^ & Councell had no Power to establish them; nay, that y^e^ Parliam^t^ itselfe could not give Authoritie to any in this case. This, coming from a man in employment & a Judge, is of more weight wth y^e^ People then if an ordinary person had spoken these wordes; And truly whatever his Majestie shall please to determine concerning ye Rules themselves (wch I assure y^r^ Lõp shall be perfectly complied w^th^), yet certeinly tis not fitt for private men to arraine ye Actings of ye Lieu^t^ & Councell, much less to declare Acts of Parliam^t^ invalide, & unless some severitie be used upon such like occasions, for my owne part I know not how any government can long support it selfe. I must confess

Digitized by Google

I have bin a little slack upon affronts of this sort, & it has bin a fault in me, but to give y^r Lõp ye true reason of it, it has bin out of a doubt whether I should be justified in my Proceedings, had I bin so quick as my owne reason tells me I ought to be, for I find these men have all along bin upheld by some who pretended great Interest wth ye King, & that wch I said to y^r Lõp concerning my L^d of Anglesey in my former Lre, being then only upon probable conjectures, I can now make it out by substantiall prooffs, that he mingles his advices wth these men.

I know very well ye disadvantage any Person that is absent has, & tho' I am extreame sensible of ye favourable expressions wch I have heard his Majestie has bin pleased to make of me (& indeed it is ye greatest satisfaction & comfort I can have in this employm^t to be assured of his Majesties gracious acceptance of my endeavours to serve him), yet I am certaine it is so hard a thing to avoid ye suspicion of partiallitie, that I conceive it will not be amiss for me to send over to y^r Lõp a briefe Acc^t of ye Originalls & beginnings of ye disturbances of this Citty (wch by my next I will not faile to send y^r Lõp), that so you may judge whether I have done any thing other then what, both in justice and prudence, I was obliged to doe.

I may, perhaps, seem to make more of this affaire then it deserves, but if y^r Lõp considers what influence ye Capitall Citty has upon ye whole Kingdome, you will easily conclude that some more then ordinary circumspection ought to be used in ye goverment of it, & indeed this is ye only uneasy thing that I find in his Majesties affairs here, tho' on ye other hand let me tell y^r Lõp wth great assurance that these People are not to be overvalued, for whatever his Majestie shall determine, whether it be to make good either of ye two Elections of ye Common Councell, or to vacate ye Rules or put them into any other forme, or whatever else he pleaseth, I have power enough & will see it done; And you need never question but upon this & all other occasions, let but my orders be possitive & his Majestie resolve to stick to me, I will go through wth it, & not fail to see them obey'd.

* * * * *

Digitized by Google

LXXIV.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, July 22, 73.

I have herein enclosed a briefe Narrative of ye proceedings of ye Citty in relation to ye turning out of ye Recorder, & seven Aldermen, as also what pass'd afterwards in order to ye restoring of them; but because it is not fitt to conceale any thing of this matter from y^r^ Lõp, tho' it may reflect upon some persons of eminent qualitie, it will be necessary I beginne a litle higher, & shew y^r^ Lõp ye true originall of their dissentions.

The Citty of Dublin is now very neer, if not altogether twice as bigge as it was at his Majesties restauration, & did till ye Dutch War began every day encrease in their buildings, & by this means ye Revenue of ye Water wch serves ye Towne yearly improved, & was already grown very considerable, ye profitts of wch did of right belong to ye Citty it selfe, but some men finding how great an advantage was likely to arise from such a farme, began to designe ye getting a long Lease of it at an under rent from ye Citty, & perceiving that ye Common Councell too well understood their owne Interest to part wth so good a Revenue, they then found there was no way soe ready for them to compass their ends as upon ye ground of that Act of Parliam^t^, wch empower'd ye Lord Lieu^t^ & Councell to Establish Rules for ye regulating of Corporacions, to procure such Rules to be framed as might reduce ye disposall of ye Citty reveuue into a few hands, & those such as would serve their turne. And to this end ye Rules first mentioned in this enclosed paper were prepared, wch would infallibly have done ye worke, had not ye Citty, by some application to Sr Ellis Leighton, prevailed wth my Lord Barkeley to make them but temporary, & as y^r^ Lõp may observe ye time so short that they expired before they could be executed.

There are those who say that this Lease for ye water would have bin worth at least four or five thousand Pds a yeare, & that it was contrived y^t^ ye Recorder, Sr William Davys, should have

Digitized by Google

a long lease of it at fifty Pds p Añn Rent. Litle doubt is to be made but some others were under hand joyn'd in ye profitts of it, but because this may a litle touch upon his Father in Law, my Lord Chancellr [a] (who as to ye maine of ye King's business I have found a very good man, & have all waies lived very well with him, as 'tis necessary I should in ye Station I am in), I have rather chose to mention these Particulars in my private Lre, then to insert any thing of them in ye Narrative.

By this it does clearly appeare that ye Commons were in ye Right in not suffering ye revenue of ye Citty to be misapplied, but it can no way justify them in ye turning out ye Recorder & these Aldermen without hearing them, what they could say in their owne defence. I must also observe to yr Lõp, that after I had replaced ye Aldermen wch I found thus illegally turned out, ye Commons of ye Citty, influenced by 3 or 4 factious persons, grew soe refractory in all things wch might be expected from them by me, as upon every litle occasion they denied their concurrence wth ye Mayor & Aldermen. One instance among others I will name, & ye rather because it may & will certainly have operation upon all ye Garrisons of this Kingdome =. This Citty, as all other Garrison Townes, have ever allowed fire & candle in ye Winter time to ye Guards that are in their Citty, but this last Winter ye Commons refused in this to concurre wth ye Mayor & Aldermen, & so ye Soldiers went without it. Other things I could also mention, but upon ye whole it appeared plainly that that Common Councell, as then constituted & influenced, were absolutely resolved to refuse every thing that ye Governor should propose, soe as I could not but judge it necessary that some new constitution should be erected, or otherwise ye Governor here would be lyable to be affronted by them upon every occasion ; & indeed it seems one of ye most arrogant things that I have ever knowne, that because ye Privy Councell would not justify these men in what they had irregularly done, that

[a] Michael Boyle, successively Archbishop of Dublin and Armagh.

Digitized by Google

therefore they should refuse all manner of compliance (as indeed they did) to ye Lieu^t^ & Councell.

But to tell y^r^ Lõp truly (for since I am upon this subject I resolve to open all) upon what acc^t^ these men were thus puff'd up, 'twas clear they were in great measure animated by Coll. Talbott, to whom they perpetually made their application, & he on his part encouraged them, & told them very freely, had he been in London, those new Rules wch I framed had never bin imposed, & that he doubted not but by his interest they should quickly see them vacated. All this I speake not without booke, but can bring prooff for every particular.

And now, having in my two Lres of ye 8th & 19th instant, & also in this wch I have now written, together wth ye severall Papers enclosed in them, given y^r^ Lõp a true prospect of ye whole matter, & not concealed ye faults of any, I shall be very glad to receive, as sóon as may be, his Maj^ties^ cõmands what he will have done thereupon; but if any Orders shall arrive to ye first representation that I made of this matter wch was by my Lre of ye 8th, I shall (unless some eminent necessitie should intervene, in wch case much ought to be left to discretion) respitt ye execution of them, till I hear that y^r^ Lõp has recd this, hoping when you shall have time to compare ye whole, & all my Proceedings herein shall be considered, You will find me free from all partialitie; & whatever his Majesties finall determination shall be in order to ye Goverment of this Citty shall be most punctually observed & performed.

In ye time of my Lord Berkeley's Lieutenancy, a direction came signed by Sr James Shaen (but by what Authoritie I doe not well know) that his Lõp should forbear passing of any Patents upon Certificates from ye Court of Claims; & tho' to ye best of my remembrance I have not recd any Orders to prohibite me from passing of such Patents, yet I have hitherto forborne ye granting of any. I might I thinke very safely upon this opportunitie, now that ye Committee of Inspection is superseded, proceed to ye passing

Digitized by Google

of these Grants, but I am unwilling to doe any thing of this nature w^th^out his Maj^tie^s permission, notwithstanding it is only a thing of course, & such as an Act of Parliament does order to be done, wherefore I humbly desire y^r^ Lõp to acquaint his Maj^tie^ therew^th^, & signifie his pleasure to me in this matter.

* * * * *

The State of ye Recorder of Dublin's case, etc., enclosed to ye Earle of Arlington, July 22, 73.

On ye 24th of November, 1671, Rules were made by ye Lord Berkeley, then Lord Lieu^t^, & by ye Privy Councell of Ireland for ye better regulating ye Corporacion of ye Citty of Dublin, whereby among other things it was declared that ye Common Councell of ye sd Citty should be for ever afterwards annually chosen by ye Lord Mayor, wth ye advice & approbation of ye Aldermen, out of such persons as should be presented to them by ye respective Corporacions of ye sd Citty.

Afterwards, there being severall objections made against ye said Rules, It was on ye second of March, 1671, Order'd by ye late Lord Lieu^t^ & Councell that ye sd Rules should continue in force untill ye 24th day of March, 1671, & no longer, & that in ye mean time other Rules should be consider'd of at ye board for regulating ye said Corporacion.

Afterwards, at an Assembly of ye sd Citty, held ye 29 March, 1672, upon a Petition offer'd by certaine of ye Commons of ye sd Citty ag^t^ Sr Francis Brusler, Richard Tigh, Daniel Hutchinson, Marke Quin, Lewis Desmineer, Enoch Reader, & Josua Allen, Aldermen of ye sd Citty, concerning their Actings in relation to ye making & imposing ye sd Rules, It was order'd that ye sd Petition should be referr'd to a Committee of ye sd Assembly, to report their conceptions therein at ye next Assembly.

Whereupon ye sd Committee met on ye first of April, 1672, &

Digitized by Google

without summoning or hearing ye sd Aldermen made a report, that they were guilty of ye matters whereof they stood charged by ye sd Petition, And that they should answer ye same at ye next Easter Assembly, or els should then be suspended, if ye sd Assembly should thinke fitt.

The next Easter Assembly was not to be held till ye 19th of Aprill, 1672: Yet at another Assembly held ye 3rd of Aprill, 1672, ye sd seven Aldermen were, by ye order of ye sd Assembly, dismiss'd from acting any further as Aldermen, & others order'd to be elected in their places.

And by another Order made ye sd 3rd of Aprill, 1672, Sr William Davys was, upon a Petition of certaine of ye Commons complaining of severall crimes committed by him, dismissed from his Office of Recorder, & ye sd Office was ye same day granted to Sr Ellis Leighton.

And ye Office of Clerke of ye Tholsell, then held by Sir William Davys, was also by another order, made ye sd 3rd of Aprill, conferr'd on Alderman Totty, then Lord Mayor.

Afterwards, upon a Petition preferr'd to his Majestie by Sr William Davys & ye sd seven Aldermen, complaining of their being illegally turned out of their Places, His Majestie was pleased, by his Order in Councell dated ye seventeenth of July, 1672, to referr ye hearing & determining of that matter to ye Lord Lieutenant & Councell of this Kingdome. Upon wch Reference all Parties were fully heard severall days at ye Councell board here.

And upon ye sd hearing it fully appear'd y^t^ ye sd Recorder & seven Aldermen were turned out without hearing of them, concerning ye severall pretended crimes that were objected ag^st^ them, & also without any prooff made thereof, or summoning them to make their defence thereto. And also that there were not above four Aldermen of ye sd Citty present at ye making of ye sd Order for turning out ye Recorder & these seven Aldermen, whereas by ye Customs of ye sd Citty ye number of eight Aldermen hath bin held necessary to

Digitized by Google

make up a Table of Aldermen, who have a Negative Vote in all Affairs that pass ye Common Councell of ye sd Citty.

Whereupon, on ye 20 Septembr, 1672, It was declared by ye unanimous consent of ye whole board, That ye sd Proceedings ag^t^ ye sd Recorder & ye sd Seven Aldermen in turning them out of their respective Places were irregular & not warranted, either by ye Laws of this Land, or by ye Customs & Constitutions of ye sd Citty, & therefore they did thereby restore them to their sd Places.

Which Resolution & Order of theirs was no other than what by Law they were warranted & obliged to make in this case. It having bin formerly adjudged, That in case a Corporacion have lawfull Authoritie by their Charter or Prescription to remove any Persons from their freedome or Places in such Corporacion, & have also just cause to remove them, Yet if it appeares that they have proceeded ag^t^ them without hearing them answer to what is objected ag^t^ them, or without reasonable warning given them, such a removing of them is ag^t^ Justice & Right & Voyd, & shall not bind ye Party.

LXXV.—The Earl of Essex to Charles II.

May it Please Y^r^ Majestie,

Since my coming hither I have allwaies chosen rather to represent things to y^r^ Majesties Ministers that at y^r^ leisure y^r^ Majestie might from them understand ye state of y^r^ Affairs in this country, then too often to trouble y^r^ selfe wth my Lres; but there being something now of importance in relation to ye Goverment, wch in my opinion deserves y^r^ Majesties serious consideration, I conceive it my duty humbly to lay before you in briefe some particulars concerning it.

Digitized by Google

The Citty of Dublin, ye Capitall one of this Kingdome, must needs, upon that score, have great influence on all ye other Corporations, & it being ye residence of ye Governor, if he cannot be obey'd here as he ought, it may well be feared y^r^ Majesties Authoritie will be in great hazard to be slighted in other more remote Quarters. The originalls & beginnings of their dissentions among themselves, & ye differences between ye Aldermen & Commons of this Citty, together wth my Proceedings thereupon, have bin at large explain'd to my Lord of Arlington, from whom y^r^ Majestie may please to be informed of all ye materiall circumstances of these disorders. I cannot absolutely excuse either side, both having bin in some measure faulty; but yet this I find, that the Recorder & those Aldermen that were excluded, together wth all their Party, are ready & willing to submitt to what ever I shall ordaine, whereas ye Comons, or rather those few factious Spiritts who inflame them, are very obstinate & refractory to all my determinations & decrees.

To a Prince soe wise & experienced as y^r^ Maj^tie^, I need not enlarge upon ye danger that may arise from suffring ye Comon people to know their owne force, or ye inconveniences that may follow from yeilding any thing to a Populace, while they continue perverse & disobedient to Authoritie, who attribute all they soe acquire to their owne strength, whereas they ought never to hear any other doctrine but that their freedomes & immunities are ye favors & gracious concessions of their Kings.

* * * * *

As Cittys grow more populous, so commonly they become more untractable, & therefore, as well upon that acc^t^ as on another of more concernment, wch is ye safety of ye whole Kingdome (in all ages subject to insurrections & frequent Rebellions), I could heartily wish y^r^ Majestie had a good Cittadell built here at Dublin, & indeed not only on my owne opinion, but in ye judgement of all I can speake w^th^, tis ye most necessary worke that could be undertaken,

Digitized by Google

& will in all probabilitie for ever secure this Country to ye Crowne of England. To wch good end, if any of my endeavors can be contributory, they shall ever be emploi'd to their utmost by me, who am with all submission.

* * * * *

Dublin Castle, July 22, 73.
To The King.

LXXVI.—William Bidgeman[a] to the Earl of Essex.

My Lord, Whitehall, July 22th, 73.

Yesterday and this day a Coñittee of the Councill for the affairs of Ireland mett, and my Lord Arlington laid before them the whole matter of the Rules made by y^r^ Ex^cy^ and the Councill there for regulating Corporacõns, and also comunicated to their Lordsps the account you sent him about the late disorder in Dublin. Upon the whole of which my Lord coñands mee to acquaint y^r^ Ex^cy^ that he questions not but by the next to bee able to send you the King's directions in these matters, and his resolutions upon the report the Coñittee have resolved to make, but it being not yet digested in that manner they intend to present it to the King, I can give y^r^ Ex^cy^ but this imperfect account of it, that I am very confident they will advise the King immediately to withdraw the suspension upon the execution of the Rules, which upon reading most of their Lordsps seemed entirely to approve of. Att the Coñittee were present My Ld Chancell^r^, Ld Privy-Seale, Duke of Ormond, Ea: of Arlington, Ea: of Craven, My Lord Halifax, and Sr Thomas Chicheley, besides 4 or 5 Privy Councellors of Ireland, and I cannot but observe to y^r^

[a] Private secretary to Lord Arlington.

Digitized by Google

Ex^cy, that no objection or exception was made to any Part of the Rules but by my Ld Privy Seale,[a] though I thinke with no great successe.

* * * * *

LXXVII.—Proceedings in the Privy Council of England regarding the Rules for Corporations.

[Forwarded by Sir R. Southwell.]

26 July, 1673.

Upon Wensday morning were Read before his Maj^te in Councell Two Reports from y^r Irish Coñittee, touching the Rules for Corporacions and the late disorders at Dublyn, against wch no body opposed any thing but one who could not suppreste the opposition so long studied against them, wch made my L^d of Ormonde in some heat declare that the Rules were so good as none but such could serve the turne if they were to be made a-new, and that he saw nothing against them but ye opinion of one Lord in opposition to his Maj^tes two Councills of England and Ireland. My Lord Chancelor and Lord Halifax did also touch the point of my Lord L^ts reputacõn in it, and that great Officers must be supported, especially having proceeded with such Regularity that all those things were approved before their publishing. But the said Lord, disowning any animosity against ye Lord Lieu^t, did by way of reply to that declare that the approbacõn his Maj^te gave was before ye publishing and not since, and that if this Report must passe, yet he would advise that the suspension should be barely taken off,

[a] The Earl of Anglesea.

Digitized by Google

and the Rules left to their owne validity in law; but after a very long and single opposition against them the Report was approved, as was likewise the other, but wth like contention Copies of both doe goe herewith, where you will also see what words were used to incorporate all into Orders of Councell, wch the clerk exposing on Friday morning to my Lord Chancelor and Lord of Ormond, their Lõps well approved the same; but the other Lord demanding to see the Order if it were drawne barely to take of the suspension, it being not to his minde, he contended a-new with the rest of the Lords, all wch was before the sitting downe, and this caused the clerk to be cautious in issuing the order till read before his Maj^te^, whose not coming to Councell caused this matter to be put off till Wensday next. On Friday in the afternoone the Committee met touching the Commission of Enquiry, and many points were debated touching a New Commission, and whether any thing could be found (unles in Connought) worthy of a new Enquiry, declaring it their unanimous sense that what ever might be recovered must first be applyed to the uses of the Acts, but their Lõps did put off the busines till Wensday next, hoping by that tyme to come better prepared to speake upon this doubtfull Argument.

LXXVIII.—Charles R. to the Earl of Essex.

Charles R.

Right Trusty and Right Welbeloved Cousin & Counsellor, Wee greet you well, Whereas Wee were pleased to referre the examination of the late difference arisen in the Corporaẽon of Our City

Digitized by Google

of Dublin in that Our Kingdome, about the Election of Coñon Councell men out of the severall Companies, to the Coñittee of Our Privy Councill for the affaires of Ireland, and they having reported their opinion thereupon to us, and Wee considered & approved of the same, Wee have thought fit in pursuance thereof to signify to you Our Pleasure that the last choice made by the Lord Mayor of that Our Citty of the compleate number of Coñon Counsell men all at once, leaving out the ten or eleven Roman Catholiques that were chosen at the first choice, shall stand and be confirmed, and Wee doe hereby require and direct you to doe all things, and give all necessary Orders for the speedy settling of this affaire accordingly. And for soe doing this shall be your Warrant. Given at Our Court at Whitehall, the day of August, 1673, in the Five and Twentieth yeare of Our Reigne.

LXXIX. The Archbishop of Armagh[a] to the Earl of Essex.

An Account of the Publique Schooles within the Province of Ulster.

Diocesses.

MEATH.

There is a free schoole for the Diocesses of Meath, with a Salary according to the Act, from the Bishop, Clergy, and Impropriators, of about 40*l.* p añn, of which but few of the Impropriators pay any thing, which neglect tends to the disencouragem[t] of the Schoolmaster.

[a] James Margetson, D.D., a native of Yorkshire, educated at Peterhouse, Cambridge, and brought into Ireland by Strafford in 1633. Successively Dean of Waterford, Derry, and Christ Church, Dublin; Treasurer of Saint Patrick's, 1660; Archbishop by patent, dated May 29, 1663. Died at Dublin, August 28, 1678.

Digitized by Google

This schoole hath been hitherto settled att Trim, but without any publique place or schoolhouse there, the providing whereof (if at the charge of the schoolmaster) would render his salary lesse considerably.

This County of Westmeath, which is part of the Diocesse of Meath, complains of their want of a publick schoole within that County & part of the Diocesse; touching which (as I am informed) severall presentm^ts^ have been made by the Grand Jury of the said County to the Judges of Assize, they offering to build a schoole house att Mullingarre (the shire towne for that County), if the free-schoole might be there settled; whereas the County of Meath hath been backward in building a house, for the schoolmaster att Trim, for that part of the Diocesse; And I understand that the Bishop & Clergy are contented there may be two schooles within that Diocesse att the charge allowable by the Act of Parliam^t^, if soe be that Mullingarre will build a school house, & accept of that part of the Salary which the Impropriators are to pay, the Bishop & Clergy paying to that of Trim, if that County please to build a schoolhouse there, otherwise it is desired it may continue as it is.

I finde there is also about 200 Acres of land, or more, sett out about Bannagher, als Fortfalkland, in the King's County, within the Diocesse of Meath, which land is diverted to the maintenance of a schoole in the towne of Bir or Parsons towne, within the Diocesse of Killaloe, about five miles from Bannagher. And whereas there is great want of a schoole in that part of the Diocesse of Meath, that being farre from Mullingarre or Trim, It is desired, according to his Maj^ties^ Royall intention for the endowing a schoole at Bannagher or thereabouts in the Diocesse of Meath, that the land allotted for it may be disposed for that use onely within the said Diocesse, The Diocesse of Killaloe being left to that provision for a free-schoole by the Bishop, Clergy, and others, as is by the Act appointed.

Digitized by Google

KILMORE.

In the Diocesse of Kilmore, at Cavan, there is a free schoole of King James his foundation, endowed with lands to the value of 40*l.* p añn, whereof James Sheridan is schoolmaster, who is not resident, but hath been long in England, soe that the schoole is onely supplyed by James Maxwell, the Usher, who (as I am informed) is insufficient for the place.

ARDAGH.

Iu the Diocesse of Ardagh, in the Corporac̃on of St Johnstown, there is a schoole endowed with lands worth foure pounds p añn, whereof Nicholas Fagan is Master.

There is also in the same Diocesse a freeschoole at Jamestown, in the County of Leytrim, endowed with lands, whereof William Hall is Schoolmaster.

CLOGHER.

In the Diocesse of Clogher there is a free schoole att Eniskellin, endowed with lands to the yearly value of 120*l.* p añn, whereof Mr Thomas Dunbarre is Master.

RAPHOE.

In the Diocesse of Raphoe there is a freeschoole endowed with lands to the value of 45*l.* p añn, whereof Mr Richard Ayton is Master, who teaches & resides in Raphoe, but there is noe publicke schoolhouse built there or elsewhere in that Diocesse.

DERRY.

In the Diocesse of Derry, att Lifford, there is a free schoole which was heretofore endowed by the Hangards with 50*l.* yearely in lands, viz., 30*l.* for the Master & 20*l.* for the Usher, whereof Mr Shortall is now Master.

There is a schoolehouse erected att Derry, & a Schoolmaster placed there, which is intended to be endowed by the Society of London.

Digitized by Google

I finde likewise a complaint, that there is a Schoole att Strebane taught by a Fanaticke person, which tends to the further perverting of the people.

DOWNE & CONNOR.

In the Diocesse of Downe & Connor there is a freeschoole at Belfast endowed with 40*l.* yearly by the Earle of Donnegall, as also a faire Schoolhouse, Mr Edward Fisher Master.

There is also a free schoole att Lisburne well endowed by my Lord Conway.

There is also a free schoole setled att Carickfergus, which is maintained by the Bishop, Clergy, &c., according to the Statute of the 12th of Elizabeth, the towne adding 20*l.* a yeare thereunto, whereof William Henry is Master.

There is also a Free Schoole at Downe Patricke, maintained in like manner by the Bishop, Clergy, &c., according to the said Act.

DROMORE.

The Diocesse of Dromore is a very small Diocesse, taken out of the Counties of Armagh and Downe, wherein I finde there is noe publicke free schoole, nor noe complaint of the want of one.

ARMAGH.

In the Diocesse of Armagh there is one Freeschoole att Dunganon endowed with lands to the value of 60*l.* p añn, whereof Mr Francis Fletcher is Master, where there is also a good Schoole House.

There is also in the said Diocesse a Free Schoole, at Armagh, endowed with lands to the value of 40*l.* p añn, & a good Schoolhouse there; Mr Thomas Mabb is Master.

There is also a Free schoole setled att Tredagh, endowed by Alderman Erasmus Smyth; But is not fully compleated.

Digitized by Google

This is the best account I can certainly give of the Severall Schooles abovesaid, pursuant unto your Ex^cies Command unto

Your most humble & obedient Servant,

JA: ARMACHANUS.

28th Aug: 1673.

LXXX.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR ARTHUR FORBES.

S^R,

Dublin Castle, Aug: 16: 73.

Yesterday I reĉd y^rs of ye 11th instant, wch gives me an account concerning some Torys in ye County of Fermanagh; That two Macguirs, whose brother was lately murder'd by ye Tories, offer to bring in all that Knott, either alive or dead. You know how tender a point it is to put ye power of killing into any man's hands, & it is possible that if these Macguires lately had a brother slaine, he might be killed upon some private quarrell, & that these brothers may take this opportunitie for revenging it, & justifie themselves by an allowance from me. This I say may, for ought I yet know, be ye case; but, however, ye destroying of those vile sort of people is so good a worke as I desire you will give them all ye encouragem^t that may be to induce them to apprehend as many of those Tories as they can, & in case any should happen to be killed, if it be made apparent that he is a Tory, it would be but reasonable to pardon them.[a]

* * * * *

To Sr Arthur Forbese.

[a] This language about the Irish Tories should be compared with that used by the Earl Kincardine, another humane man, concerning the Highland "thieves."—"Lauderdale Papers," vol. ii. p. 136.

Digitized by Google

LXXXI.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, Sept. 2nd: 73.

Yesterday at Councell we tooke examinations concerning Dr. Loftus's practices in fomenting ye differences now in this Citty, & encouraging them not to give obedience to ye Rules, & after having heard him what he could say for himselfe, we committed him Prisner to ye Castle. I have directed Mr. Aldworth[a] to transmitt to Mr. Bridgeman Copies of ye examinations of this business, wch if yr Lõp please to cast yr eye upon, They will themselves speak his crimes: All wch he was so far from excusing or denying, as, when he came to be heard, he would have justified all ye materiall Parts of them, & particularly that concerning ye Power of ye Parliamt, a pointe surely too high for any private man to define.

The enclosed is a Copy of a Lr̃e from ye Officers of ye Customs in ye Porte of Corke, written to ye Barons of ye Exchequer. I thought fitt to send it to yr Lõp that it may be considered of, in regard ye transportation of woollen Yarne therein mentioned, if permitted to be conveigh'd to forreine Parts, may have great influence on ye Cloath Trade of England. For my owne part I am glad to see this Nation advance so far in their industry as to worke their Wooll into Yarne, & I am of opinion that all improvemts of this kind, tending to manufacture, ought to be cherish'd and encouraged by ye Governmt, & I shall most willingly give my assistance, as far as his Majestie shall thinke fitt, to ye promoting of it, tho' every Pack of Yarne exported is somewhat of loss to me, in regard by this means they avoide ye duty payable to ye Sworde on Wooll & Sheepskins.

* * * * *

[a] Private secretary to Essex. The copies of Essex's letters are in his writing.

Digitized by Google

LXXXII.—Sir William Temple to the Earl of Essex.

My Lord, Septr. 10th.

Upon the visits I made last weeke at London, I tooke occasion to make a short compliment from your Ex^cy to my Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Ormond, and Secretary Coventry, wch was no more than to tell them that I left y^r Lõp in all the dispositions of service to them, and with all confidence of their friendship and good offices to whatever concerned y^r Lõp in Ireland. My Lord Chancellor returned the compliment with much civillty, but in words, of course, enquired of y^r health, and fell into other talke. My Lord of Ormond[a] told mee hee did not thinke the King had a better servant than y^r Lõp; that for his owne part hee would serve you both there and anywhere wherever it was in his power. Hee said hee knew you were a man of justice and honor, and 'twas for that reason hee believed there had been heaving at you, but hee thought that was left off for the present. Hee exprest a good deal of sense at the hardships of y^r Governm^t, and said that for his owne concernments in that Kingdome hee could never thinke them safer nor better then under y^r hands. All this was said with so greate heartyness, that I beleeve y^r Lõp may reckon it was what hee meant, and what you may grounde upon if there bee occasion. Mr Secretary Coventry returned what I said with expressions of kindeness and esteem, and in a manner that seemed to mean what hee said. Hee talked with concerne of the hard part you were putt upon there, how little was left you to dispose of, and to keepe up the dependance of people upon you, wch hee said was contrary to all former method, that had raised the formes necessary to the support of authority rather higher in Ireland than they were in England. Hee fell into a great deale of talke about the present

[a] Ormond was always loyal to Essex.

Digitized by Google

state of the Treasury and some shifts wch y^{r} Lõp has by this time been acquainted with, though there are some who will not see through them heer how plain soever. My Lord Tresurer tooke occasion to speake of y^{r} Lõp and with much esteem, though as a person hee was not much acquainted with. My Lord Halifax, with many inquirys and wishes for you heer, as a place where you might bee of more publique use, and for the rest, He is in all points just where you left him. I will onely say further, from the compass of my conversation heer, that no person can have a better and more generall reputation then is fixed of y^{r} Lõp heer in all those qualitys wch in all times make up the honor, and in some times the fortunes too of great men, and wch I am sure have, without any helpe of the figure you make in the world, gained upon mee an esteem so particular and inclination so devoted to y^{r} person and interests. The same effect I am confident they must have upon all other honest men that know you, and therefore I think y^{r} Lõp has all the reason that can bee to bee satisfyed with the course you have hitherto runn and the reputation has attended it, however it may have fayl'd with some sorts of men, from whom you can never have it at the same time you possess it with the rest. And therefore to mortifye you a little I will tell y^{r} Lõp how good a friend you have lost of in my Lord Clifford, who, a little before hee left the Treasury upon a letter it seems y^{r} Lõp had written to desire his inspection into that of Ireland before hee left the Staff, and an expression in it that without some methods the King would bee forced to runn out there, fell into a fitt of raillery before the company that was there, saying, among other things, My Lord of Essex would be taken for a Gentleman that is resolved to live within his compass, the good man must needs have his butter and his bread meet; but hee's out of the story, wee runn out heer and hee must runn out there in spight of his teeth; with a good deal more of this kinde, wch was told mee by one that was there and heard it all. For ought I hear hee practised as hee preached, for one of his best friends told mee hee might be arraigned for the bountys hee used

Digitized by Google

in the disposall of the King's money about six weeks before hee left the staff, and all has gone at that rate, that I heare by a state of the revenue lately brought in the King w ll owe at the ende of this month five hundred thousand pounds more then hee will have to receive, and all since the stopp in the Exchequer.[a] Yett my Lady Cleveland has, they tell me, a patent now passing for that branch of the revenue wch arises out of the Wine licenses, and in requitall of wch the Duke had, as I remember, 24 M. pounds a yeare setled upon him out of the Exchequer. But the East Indy ships that are now come in will, I hope, make amends for all.

I sente y^r^ Lõp last post a Copy of Monsr Martel's letter, and what news I knewe of by the same head, wch is, I thinke, commonly the better way. The French behavior is grown so notorious that 'tis out of all allay, and the seamen are grown to that pass that as a French Ship comes by one of ours the Captains cannot make six men in our ship give them a cheare, as is usuall from all the Crewe.[b] Yett the King very wisely suppresses whatever hee thinks of it, But the French take so much notice of the humor of the Nation, and so much apprehend what influence a Parliament may have upon Counsels, that they say they make difficulty in the hundred thousand pounds that they are to pay us the end of this month, and if they should continue in that humour it might help all the rest to breed some ill blood in spite of all patience and care to prevent it. The Dutch continue very high, wch makes all conclude they can make no peace without securing the interests of Spain & the Empire.

I finde Mr Bridgeman is very particularly a servant to my Lord Rannelagh and all his interests, and thinks hee owes his imployment to that Lord's Friends of the Councell in Ireland.

I choos to write particulars that I mett with at my being in

[a] January 2, 1672.

[b] This feeling was caused by the want of co-operation on the part of the French fleet. Rupert, in especial, was so annoyed at it that he became the leader of a pronounced anti-French party.

Digitized by Google

Town, and thought worth y^r Lõps reflection, because I doe not thinke to bee much there, nor consequently to trouble y^r Lõp very often.

LXXXIII.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, Sep^t 13, '73.

'Tis now a fortnight since we have had any Lres out of England, ye winds being very strong Westerly, wch has hinder'd ye passage of any boates. I have not bin idle in searching out for some Lands for ye Dutchesse of Cleaveland, in compensation of ye Parke, wch was intended to have bin given her Grace; & I have already found above 39,000 Acres wch are in his Majesties dispose, but these being lands lyable to Quitt-rents, and many of them in themselves unprofitable, & dispersed through severall Counties of ye Kingdome, I have bin loath to propose them, hoping in a short time to find out others more entire, & which may be better. This business I have put into such a way as I doubt not, within a month's time, to send over a Particular to my Lady Dutchess of Cleaveland of lands worth her acceptance. But now, whilst I am upon this worke, & doe thinke my selfe engaged by promise to serve my Lady Cleaveland ye best I can in this affaire, I hear from England that ye Duke of Monmouth is preparing a Grant of all ye Lands in his Majesties dispose in this Kingdome of Irelande, w^ch, if it should pass, as it may, under ye great Seale of England, without any notice to us here (besides ye many inconveniences & mischiefs to his Majesties affairs, wch a Patent of that extent would bring along wth it, all wch ought to be heard & debated), it would inevitably prevent me from performing my promise to my Lady Cleaveland. I hope y^r Lõp will be pleased to be watchfull in this matter, that I be not hinder'd in my intentions, & in case Lres

Digitized by Google

should come from his Majesty to dispose of any of these Lands, wch I have already found out & designed for this purpose, I hope I may take ye libertie to stop ye passing of any Grants upon them, for otherwise 'twill be impossible for me ever to fullfill my word, if, as fast as I discover any thing, it be beg'd away by others.

This afternoon I have appointed to hear ye business between my Lady Cleaveland and Mr Cooke, concerning some Lands in ye County of Wicklow. The reason I have delay'd it so long is, because my Lord Aungier, who seems to be concerned on my Lady Dutchesses part, has bin in ye Country & is but lately returned, & I was unwilling to hear it wth out having him present.

There hath lately faln an Employm^t^ here of some value in my dispose, wch is ye King's Remembrancer's office. I have given it to Mr Godolphin. There is upon this place, as indeed upon all others, a reversion granted; but it being to Sr Richard Kennedy, one of ye Barons of ye Exchequer, 'tis ye opinion of most Lawyers, ye employm^t^ he now enjoys being judiciall, he cannot have an Office ministeriall in ye same Court, & therefore his Patent is voyd. I know no reason why I should not take ye advantage of ye Law where I finde any flaw of this nature, For I am sure I have disposed ye office into a very good hand, Mr Godolphin being a Person very deserving.

I am now goeing a journey into ye Country to spend a litle time in hunting there, wch will interrupt our correspondence for a few days; but where ever I am y^r^ Lõp may assure y^r^ selfe of ye reallitie of my being.

Digitized by Google

LXXXIV.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, Oct. 12th, '73.

I have had severall complaints from some of ye Scotch Nation of their persecution (as they terme it) upon ye score of Nonconformitie, divers of those people who are dissenters from ye Church having bin (as they say) excommunicated, & Writts de Excomunicato Capiendo taken out & executed upon them, to ye great disquiett of that nation, & hindrance of ye Trade of ye Kingdome. I thought it my best cours my self to examine some one case of this nature, to see how their complaints were grounded. The first wch offer'd it selfe was of one Martin, an inconsiderable fellow in all respects. They call'd him a Merchant, whom I find to be but a very mean Pedlar. However, tho' he may be of no value himselfe, Yet in regard ye whole Party seems to concerne themselves in his cause, I thought it not improper for me to informe myselfe fully of all ye Proceedings wch have bin agt him. That I might ye more clearly understand what ye Points are on wch these dissenters insist, & if not be able my self to prescribe some way how these matters might be accommodated to their satisfaction, & wth ye support of ye Church Government, yet at least I might be so instructed as to give such an Acct to his Majestie, as he might thereupon order what he should think fitt to have done in relation to them.

The State of this Person's case I have here enclosed, drawn up by one of ye King's Councell, wherein yr Lõp will finde, that 'tis not for Nonconformitie that this man has bin excommunicated, but for contempt, he neglecting to make appearance to a citation out of ye Bps Court upon ye Acct of Fornication; And ye Truth is, I doe not think any of them are prosecuted purely upon ye score of Nonconformitie, at least some care has bin taken that none should be soe, for they are indulged their meetings on Sundays,

Digitized by Google

provided it be in convenient places, & that they doe not affront ye publick worship established. But if men (as this Martine) shall take ye libertie to live wth what women they please, & then contemptuously refuse to give any Acc^t^ to ye Judge proper in that case for their soe doing, & shall goe away wth this unpunished, I doe not see how ye Goverm^t^ of ye Church can long subsist; & besides ye wickedness wch it would countenance, such a Licence as this would also, without doubt, be a great inducement to many men to goe over to their Party. These men pretend indeed a scruple to our Ceremonies of Marriage, looking upon that of ye King as a piece of Idolatry, & soe will only marry their owne way, wch if they should be indulged, they ought certainly at least to give an Acc^t^ what way & in what manner they marry.

I confess 'tis hard what to advise upon this occasion, for that People are to a Miracle encreased in this Kingdome, & grown very Powerfull; by some of my Lord of Strafford's [a] Lr̃es, wch I have here by me, I find that in ye beginning of his time there was a view taken of all ye British (including English & Scotch) in ye Province of Ulster, & by that Returne there were then only thirteen thousand & some odd hundred persons of all sorts of ye two Nations, whereas now of ye Scotch Nation, by ye best Estimates I can make, there are not fewer then fourscore or an hundred thousand Men fitt to bear Arms. These are for ye generallitie, & I thinke I may say all upon ye matter, except ye Gentry, Presbiterians, some of them more moderate, & others of a more violent sort. They being now soe considerable, I humbly conceive it will require some care & prudence how to deale wth them, especially in regard of ye present conjuncture of Affairs, his Majestie having a war wth a Forreigner. I shall not presume to offer my opinion in this case, but having observed to y^r^ Lõp these particulars, & instanced in that concerning their marriages, wch doubtless is ye most difficult of any to accommodate, I shall pursue such commands

[a] Whom Essex calls "the greatest Governor."

Digitized by Google

as his Majestie shall thinke fitt to send. In order to which I have for ye present dismiss'd this Martine, allowing him six weeks time from ye 27th of Sep^t^ to make his Peace wth ye Church, or otherwise to returne to Prison as I found him.

Dr Loftus is still in custody, & will not be brought to acknowledge his fault. The Lieu^t^ & Councell here may, & I believe will, suspend him of his Employments; but in regard he has a Pension upon ye Civill List as one of ye Masters of Chancerie, That cannot be alter'd without a L̃re from his Majestie, a draught whereof I hope to send y^r^ L̃op by ye next, & ye Person whom I shall recom̃end in his room will be Dr Topham, already one of ye Masters of Chancerie, but paid ye like Sallary by Concordation.

* * * * *

LXXXV.—The Earl of Essex to Sir Henry Capel.

Deare Brother, Dublin Castle, Oct. 13, '73.

Here is one Oliver Plunkett, ye Romish Titular Primate of this Kingdome, who seems to be one of ye best men of his Persuasion I have mett w^th^; & tho' I doubt not but he is industrious enough in promoting his owne religion, yet I could never finde but he was of a more peaceable temper & more conformable to ye Goverment then any of their Titular B̃ps in this Country. I know not well what Proceedings may be in Parliament in relation to us here, or how far ye matter of religion may be concerned in it, nor is it fitt for me to offer my Judgement at this distance in a cause of that nature. This only I shall say, that in case any debates should arise by way of discriminating of Persons, & putting banishments or other Punishments upon Particulars, I should be glad for ye reasons above-mentioned you would y^r^ selfe, & some of our Friends, secure this Gentleman from any such severitie, wch should be singly & personally inflicted on him.

Digitized by Google

LXXXVI.—The Earl of Essex to Sir Henry Coventry.

S^r^,

Dublin Castle, Octob^r^ 25: 73.

I lately rec̃d a Lr̃e of his Maties, under ye Signett subscribed by y^r^ selfe, wch relates to a Patent granted many years since to Sr Nicholas Armorer & Sr Gabriel Silvius of ye forfeitures of all bonds enter'd into for ye exportation of wooll. This Lr̃e, among other things, has directed that for ye future no securities for ye due exportation of wooll be taken, but wth ye privity & approbation of ye substitutes of these Patentees, & this upon pretence, that oftentimes his Maties Officers of ye Customs in ye severall Ports of this Kingdome doe take bonds from Persons who are insolvent, & so when ye Persons have carried out ye wooll into forreigne parts contrary to Law, no Penalties can be recover'd for their soe doeing.

I confess for my owne part I doe not see how this can be a remedy for that mischief; nay, I am apt to believe it will by experience be found rather to multiply those cheats & elusions of ye Law then any way to redress them, for when I observe that these Gentlemen have a clause in their Patent authorising them to compound wth those whose bonds are forfeited, what will ye effect in probabilitie be of consulting them in taking ye securities for prevention of undue exportation of wooll, but putting it into their power to compound ye Penalties, even before ye bonds are enter'd into, & be so far from hindring ye inconvenience, wch ye Trade of England suffers by ye exportation of wooll out of Ireland into forreign parts, as t'will setle a more ready way for men wth impunitie to violate such Laws as doe here provide ag^t^ it. Possibly, if it were strictly enquired into, it would be found that not ye insolvency of securities, but ye compounding of forfeited bonds may have bin ye principall reason that his Mat̃ie has had so ill an Acc^t^ of these Penalties (for ye 8th part of them reserved as his Maties due, wch should be accounted in his Exchecquer, will not be a justification to ye Patentees so long as ye Court of Exchecquer is so slack as they are in their duty).

Digitized by Google

It has bin my observation, that most Patents of this kind, however specious y^e^ pretences are upon wch they were gained, have ever proved most mischievous in their execution, &, for instance, I shall mention one to you now in this Kingdome wch was granted to Sr George Hamilton = Tis of all Penalties incurred for ploughing wth y^e^ Horse Taile, wch is expressly Provided ag^t^ by an Act of Parliam^t^, & has in all times bin looked upon, not only as it is, a barbarous Custome, but in many particulars very inconvenient to y^e^ Publick; but this Patent is notoriously found to destroy ye good intent of that Law, for those who have a mind to continue their Ploughing by ye Horse Taile doe only compound wth Sr George Hamilton before hand, & are then by him priviledged so to doe, & in effect it makes that Statute no other then an opportunitie of some gain to ye Patentee, but of no force to reforme ye Irish from their ill Habits.

As to this of ye wooll, I rec̃d a L̃re from my Lord Clifford, late Ld. Treãr of England, and returned him an answer to it, wherein I have offer'd as much as I can say upon this subject. You will have herew^th^ enclosed a copy of his L̃ops L̃re, together wth that of mine, for y^r^ perusall. The Truth is, I cannot thinke of any properer way for prevention of that abuse, then that ye Lieu^t^ here doe impose some certain Rules upon ye King's Officers for ye taking of these bonds, & that great rigour & severitie be used for ye neglect & breach of them. The rules may be such as these.

In ye first Place, I conceive that mention'd in his Maties L̃re concerning ye obliging them to Shipp all in such particular Ports as shall be nominated for this purpose, may be very necessary. They are limited by this L̃re to six in number, but considering ye severall Countrys wch produce wooll, there cannot be fewer then seven allow'd, namely, Dublin, Drogheda, Waterford, Corke, Youghall, Limmerick, & Gallway, & for some reasons Ross may also be added, wch will make eight.

Next, that all ye Officers of ye Customs, who are entrusted to

Digitized by Google

take their securities on prooff made that they have accepted any insolvent, ye Officer that accepts them should lose his Employm^t^.

Thirdly, that in case it be proved any wooll be exported into forrain Parts contrary to Law, there be no Remittall of ye Penaltie incurr'd thereby, nor any composition to be made for ye same, but ye securitie prosecuted to ye utmost extremitie; & in case he shall not be able to satisfy ye bonds enter'd into, that his body ly in prison till he pays ye debt to ye full.

Lastly, that ye Com^rs^ of his Maties Customs in England doe constantly, at every six months end, make a returne to ye Lieu^t^ here of all ye wooll landed in England, wch returne should particularly mention ye Time when, ye Posts where, each proportion of wooll was landed, & ye persons in whose names ye entry was made. That ye Lieu^t^ doe take ye like Acc^t^, from ye Officers of ye Customs here, of all wooll exported, so that, comparing them wth ye Licenses wch he has granted, He may discover any fraud of this kind.

I know very well it has bin ye usuall practice of those who carried this commoditie to Flanders & Holland to stop as they pass by England & get Certificates from some Officers of ye Customs of their landing of it there, but to prevent this, wch I looke upon as ye main contrivance they have to doe their worke, his Maties principall Com^rs^ of ye Customs may take care to entrust this business in those Ports in England where usually wooll is landed to some Officer of known creditt that may give them a due Acc^t^ of it. These are ye most materiall Rules that for ye present I can think of, to w^ch^, if upon Perusall & advice wth such persons in England as are proper to be spoken wth upon this subject, any thing further shall be added, my part shall not be wanting in ye due execution thereof.

Digitized by Google

LXXXVII.—Sir W. Temple to the Earl of Essex.

My Lord, London, Oct^br 25.

Finding myself possest heer in Town of one from y^r Ex^cy of the 2nd, and that you seemed therein not displeased with the notices transmitted to you in some of my former letters, I resolved before I left this place in such a conjuncture to give y^r Lõp a short account of what humors and dispositions the scene next weeke is like to beginn with, that so you may the better judge of what you shall hear acted upon it, and from what springs most of the motions will arise. The vote past last Munday was a good deal surprising to the Courte, and extreamly sensible to the Duke,[a] who saies that if the King should hinder the Princess from coming into England Hee would go and marry her in France. But many of the House imagine the thing was not very displeasing to *the King*, becaus S^r Ro. Howard promoted it; and with expressions of His not onely desiring the Duke should not marry a Roman Catholique, but wishing none of that profession might ever be marryed to any of the Royall Family. Mr. Powell began the business and was seconded by Thomas, and followed with such warmth by the whole House, as none spoke against but some of the Duke's servants, and *Sec. Coventry* a little to temper it.

The same humor seems still to continue in the House, and some of them say, though they cannot hinder the Duke from marrying her, yett they will address to the King to hinder her from coming into England. They talke likewise of desiring the King to marry, or if not, that after a peace with the Dutch, Hee will send over to the *P. of Orange* to come & marry the *Duke's daughter*. They

[a] For an address to the King praying that the intended marriage of the Duke of York with Mary of Modena should not be consummated, and that he should marry no one but a Protestant.—Oct. 20, 1673.

Digitized by Google

seem very fierce in the points of *Religion*, and aime at removing all, without exception, twenty miles from the King who have refused the late oaths, and to have the penall laws putt strictly in execution, and the care of it left in the hands of certain L^ds^ and Commoners, so as the King may not have it in his power to dispense with them, or remitt the penaltys.

They talke of putting Sr John Coventry, Sr Sol^n^ Swale,[a] and another of their members, who are turned Papists, upon the last test, & in case of their refusall to putt them out of the House. They are so hott and so unanimous in nothing as the resolutions of breaking the *Warr* with *Holland*, *and alliance wth France*, but disagree in the manner. Some would beginn with desiring *the King* to recall all his *Forces* from *France;* others with entring upon the *Warr* itself, or the carriage of the *French* in the *Fleet*, and of this the *House of Lords* desire *P. Rupert* may give them the relation; but there seem to bee already four partys formed in the *House of Commons* one would runn up to the height and fall upon the Ministers, especially *Buck., Arling^t^*, *Loddadate*, and their carriage, particularly in the business of the *Warr*, so as absolutely to breake all the present sett both of men and business at Courte, and bring some of themselves in their room, and of these *Sr William Coventry's* brother[b] is the head, and is thought will bee very busy this Session; but his carriage in the last and extream ambition, so generally believ'd, has lost him a good deal of credit in the *House of Commons*, and so *Hallifax* too, who is in the same designe, and so they say will Garaway bee, and Thomas, and Socheverell, Ld Cavendish, and Will Russell. Another party is more moderate, would onely secure the business of *Religion*, breake the *War* with *Holland*, but both thees with all the good measures that can be to *the King*, and no violent ones to the Ministers, and of this Strangways and Powel seem the heads, but strong in the numbers of the

[a] Sir Solomon Swale was Member for Aldborough, in Yorkshire; he was expelled from the House, June 19, 1678.

[b] *i.e.*, Sir Henry Coventry.

Digitized by Google

House. Another, upon pretence of not exasperating *the King*, are for voting money, but with pretence of not perfecting it unles *Peace* bee made, though this bee understood to bee a way of securing the business of money under a show of moderation and popular aimes, and of this Sr John Holland is the head. The last party is made chiefly to carry on the business of the *devorce*, and this is headed wholly by *Shaftesbury* and Sr R. Howard, who carry it on both with *the King*, and *Lords* and *Commons*. *The King* seems sometimes very earnest in it, and sometimes cold, and in all thees matters is either so *uncertaine* or *disgusted* that those who are *neerest* him know not yett what will be the issue. But hitherto seems resolved to goe on with *France*, will not receave overtures from *Spaine* or *Holland*, and talks of setting *out* the *Fleet* next year without *money* from *Parliam^t^* if it fails, and in this minde none seem now to bee left but *the Duke* and *Arling.*, wch may doe the last very great wrong in *Parliam^t^*, since *Buck.* pretends to have wholly left that seat, and will, they say, take an occasion to come into *the House of Lords* and clear himself, and throw it all upon *Arling.*[a] The *Queen* saies *shee* reckons upon being *sent away*, and is prepared for it; but all the *women* are against it, as you will easily beleeve. *The Duke* is unmoov'd by all conferences about *Religion*, and ends all in saying hee is fixed. The *Duke* of Ormond is in great credit with all partys and firmely principled for *Religion* and against the *War*, and so is *P. Rupert*, but, for the rest, engaged in no partys.

The Court's business in the House seems to bee much wanting in point of men to manage it of credit and abilitys, for besides Mr Secretary Coventry and Mr Atturney,[b] who are reckon'd to speake as from their places wholly, there is none of much talk that undertake it but S^r^ Ro. Carr & Sr Rich. Temple, who are the worst heard that can bee in the House, especially the last. My Lord Treasurer seems to bee yett but discovering the coosts, and

[a] As he did.—See Letter CVI.

[b] Finch. He became Lord Keeper of the Seals immediately after this debate.

Digitized by Google

not resolved what course to steere, and is, I doubt, something disadvantaged by the beleef of beeing so much in with *Buckingham*. My Lord Clifford's death hath, I thinke, been a very great loss to *the Duke* and to the *Papists*. I doubt *Arling.* can never quitt *France*, and you will judge, I suppose, the reason. My Lord Arlington's beeing Chamberlain [a] is a little dead for the present, My Lord Chamberlain beeing, when it comes to it, very loath to parte with the Staff, though saies his worde is past, and hee will doe it if hee bee prest, and the conditions proposed at first bee performed.

Yr Lõp is much wished for by yr friends heere at this time, and if you were so, I should not have refused an election wch has been offered mee in the House against this Session, though I have done it absolutely upon the reasons I so often talkt over in Irelande. I am ever with passion and truth, &c.

* * * * *

LXXXVIII.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, Oct. 28, 73.

I have herewth enclosed a Lr̃e to ye Lords of his Maties Privy Councell in England giving an Acct of all my Proceedings here in relation to ye Adress of ye House of Coñons.[b] Tis sent wth a flying Seale that yr Lõp may peruse it, & if you think fitt shew it to his Matie, & then either deliver it to ye Councell, or lay it aside as you

[a] He sold his Secretaryship to Sir Joseph Williamson on September 17, 1674, and was made Lord Chamberlain, in succession to Ormond.

[b] The letter to the Privy Council recounts the measures he has taken to carry out fully the terms of the address.

Digitized by Google

see cause; only I conceive it my duty to make a returne to y^e^ same Place from whence I rec̃d his Maẗies commands.

There are but two things in my Orders wch seem of difficultie to be executed; one is, so to disarme all Papists, according to former Presid^ts^, as they may not be dangerous to y^e^ Governm^t^. Herein I observe y^e^ addition of y^e^ words = According to former Presidents = wch being joyn'd to those limitations mention'd in y^e^ Adress, viz., soe to disarme, etc., you leave me in such difficulties as, let me doe what I will, I may be lyable to blame one way or other, for should I performe this too remisly, y^e^ House of Com̃ons may take check at it & y^e^ fault would rest upon me, as if I had not done my duty. Agen, should I be strict in ye execution of this, I might be condemned for not proceeding according to former Presid^ts^. I doe wish y^r^ Lõp would only wth y^r^ selfe recollect who ye person was that proposed ye addition of these words, not that I care or desire to know it, but only that y^r^ Lõp may satisfy y^r^ self whether t'was done wth friendly intentions towards me.

Presid^ts^ of disarming Papists are not so ready to be found, yet here-to-fore, as I am informed, there have bin searches made for Arms, but this, tho' done by surprise, has seldom had any effect. How then can I promise my self success by such a method when so long warning has bin given of this intention to disarme them? Besides, ye Army is so small as tis impossible for them to doe ye worke, And for ye Justices of Peace, I conceive they are not Ministers proper for such an affaire; But above all, that wch makes me shun this course of searching Houses is my knowledge of ye animosities that are among men of this Kingdome, & how forward many of them would be to lay hold on an opportunitie to show their litle spights & Malices upon their Neighbors; and I am sure, should this way be taken, I should soon hear hundreds of complaints of injuries & insolencies, nay, perhaps, sometimes of robberys done under colour & countenance of these searches. I have, therefore, chosen ye method mention'd in this enclosed L̃re of issueing out a Proclamation to summon all Papists, by a certain day, to deliver up

Digitized by Google

their Fire Arms to some persons appointed by me in each County to receive them, & I shall be very carefull in my choice of these Gentlemen entrusted in this business that they may doe their worke discreetly & yet effectually. I doe not find any President of ye Papists having their defensive Arms taken from them, save only in ye Time of ye usurpation, when none either of them, or Protestants who had served ye King, were suffer'd to weare Swords, wch I looke upon as no Presid^t^. Upon this ground I have, according to my Orders, limited ye disarming to offensive Arms. The Peers of ye Kg̃dme (tho' Papists) have ever bin allow'd some small proportion of Fire Arms, as also other Gentlemen whom ye Lieu^t^ should think fitt to licence. Herein likewise I shall observe former Presid^ts^, & grant particular Licences, wth such limitations as to ye numbers of Arms, as I shall see cause, respecting each man's qualitie & condition.

The other point wherein there seems some difficultie in ye execution of ye Adress, is that wch concerns ye Papists not inhabiting in Corporacions, & in this I must observe to y^r^ Lõp, that ye House of Cõmons it selfe were doubtless in some mistake in their Adress, for they seem to suppose that y^e^ Law here prohibites all Papists from inhabiting in Corporacions, wch I doe not finde provided ag^t^ in any of these Acts. The Clause wch they would referr to in their Adress is that in y^e^ 31 Page of y^e^ Act of Explñ, wch provides = That no Papist or Popish Recusant shall be permitted to purchase or take Leases from any of y^e^ 49 Interests of any Houses in Corporacions w^thout^ y^e^ Licence & leave of y^e^ Ld Lieu^t^ & Councell = so as there is no generall Prohibition of their inhabiting in Corporacions, but only that they shall not buy or rent any Houses in Corporacions wch belong to y^e^ 49 men. The direction I have given in order to this affaire will, I hope, enable me both to fulfill y^e^ ends of y^e^ Act, & likewise to doe it in that manner as will be most agreeable to his Maties intentions; For when I am informed who ye Persons are that are admitted to live in Corporacions, by what Licences enabled so to doe, & what stock they employ in Trading, I shall then be

Digitized by Google

prepared to judge wch of them are fitt to enjoy this Priviledge of being continued Inhabitants therein.

This only I must acquaint y^r^ Lõp as a reall Truth, that there is no nation under Heaven where ye Coñon People of ye Romish Religion are so absolutely led by their Priests as in this Kingdome, for 'tis most certain that in those Corporacions wch are placed in Countrys inhabited for ye generallitie by Papists, if there be any one of that religion who sells any commoditie, no Protestant of ye same Trade can subsist or live in ye Towne wth him, for ye Priests doe enjoyn ye people not to buy any thing but of those of their owne religion. This may seem at first a little strange, but I doe assure y^r^ Lõp of ye veritie of it, & I doe tell it you ye rather that y^r^ Lõp may see some care & circumspection is requisite in a matter of this nature, for as I would be loath ye King & Kgd̃me should loose ye benefitt of any considerable Trader, be he Papist, or of any other religion whatsoever, so I would be carefull in all cases, if it should be in my powr, wch I am confident it doeth not on this occasion, so to mix ye Traders that they may all live one by another.

Some doubt may be raised whether any Persons at all can now be denied this Priviledge in Corporacions, in regard to ye Powr reserved to ye Lieu^t^ & Councell for licensing of them, wch powr being executed & extended to all by virtue of his Mat̃ies Lr̃e of ye 26 Feb., 1671, cannot agen be revoked, but observing that his Mat̃ie being desired in ye Adress to recall ye aforesd̃ Lr̃e, & ye direction of ye Councell being express, that no Papist be admitted to inhabite in any Corporacion, but only such & in such manner as ye Laws in force doe allow, I doe presume it is his Mat̃ies Pleasure that this Lr̃e be, as much as in him lyes, superseded.

Yet, should I humbly offer my owne opinion, I cannot thinke that if ye Act of State made here upon that Lr̃e were at first legall, it can now be reversed, for that Act of State constituting Rights in severall Private men, wch they had not before, those Rights when granted can no otherwise be recalled than ye Act of Parliam^t^ it selfe by wch they are confirmed; & as ye Lieu^t^ & Councell cannot, after granting

Digitized by Google

Licence to any single person to purchase or take Leases of these Houses in Corporacions, by any Order repeale this agen, but that single person will for ever after enjoy this Priviledge, so I conceive ye like will hold for all in generall, if ye Act of Parliam^t^ does justify ye admission of them all together. But there will be time enough to debate this after I have ye returns from ye severall Corporacions, before I proceed to ye Exclusion of any one man.

Having just now rec̃d y^r^ Lop̃s of ye 21 instant, I shall deferr ye answering ye particulars in it till ye next opportunitie.

LXXXIX.—The Earl of Essex to the Duke of Ormond.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, Novem^r^ 14, '73.

* * * * *

The execution of ye late Adress will, I conceive, putt an end to all relating to these Titular Bp̃s, who now must quitt ye country; & I hear they are all preparing to be gone in obedience to it. One thing of difficulty I have had lying upon my hands in this Article of ye Adress, wch I do not make known to any of my friends in England, but y^r^ Grace only; It is this: Soon after my coming hither, Moloony, Titular Bp. of Killaloe, whom I look upon as ye most dangerous (because ye wisest) man of their Clergy, made a composure of all ye differences among ye men of their religion, particularly of ye disputes wch were between their Titular Primate & Peter Talbot, as also of ye dissensions wch were between Coll: Talbot & Coll: Fitzpatrick, and had upon ye matter well neer made an union among them all. I soon found that if this proceeded I should have no Intelligence of their practices & Actings, & believing it to be one of ye most important things I could doe, both for his Maties service and securitie of his Protestant subjects here, either to keep these men divided, or, if they were united, to break

Digitized by Google

them agen, I made use of some Fryers, who all ways have their litle wrangles wth ye secular Clergy, to sett up Factions ag^t^ some of their Bishops, &, by encouraging these litle animosities among them, brought them at last to that pass, that they openly accused one another of exercising Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction, contrary to ye Laws of ye Land; severall examinations were taken, and ye Bishops brought in to swear one against another, all wch has renewed their divisions to that heigth, as I believe they are now irreconcilable. By ye Adress of ye House of Comons, all ye Regulars are to be Banished; & should I putt this exactly in execution, I must send all these poor Fryers abroad who have done us this service, & expose them to great severities there; Indeed, I believe some of them have acted soe far, as they will certainly loose their lives should they be sent beyond sea. There are but very few—I am sure not above six or eight—who have bin principally instrumentall in this affaire; & for these, tho' I will not give them any publick protection, yet my intention is to connive at them, & to give some Gentlemen in ye country charge to take care of them, that they be not troubled; for doubtless, in all these cases, 'tis impossible but something must be understood to be left to ye discretion of a Governor.

* * * * *

XC.—The Earl of Essex to Sir Oliver St. George.

S^r^,

Dublin Castle, Novem^r^ 15: '73.

There is one Martine French,[a] a Fryer, who has bin soe usefull to me, both by privately giving me Intelligence of all ye proceedings of their Clergy, & by appearing sometims & giving assistance to prosecute some of ye Romish Bishops, that should I send him

[a] In a later letter Essex asks that a reward may be paid this man, and protection given him.

Digitized by Google

abroad, as ye late Proclamation enjoyn's, I am confident ye poor man could not escape ye Inquisition, or goe of wth his life; wch I look upon to be soe great a barbarity for me to be an Instrument in making him suffer, & of so ill an example to all others, who should be employ'd (as some must allways be) in this kind, as I would rather run ye hazard of shayring a point of my Orders then be guilty of doing anything wch for ye future I know will be most notoriously prejudicial to ye Kings service; I doe therefore desire you would send for this Martine French, & let him know that you have direction to take care of him, and I conceive it will be his best course to keep some where neer you in ye country, that you may protect him and those wth whom He abides from any Question or Trouble. This Lr̃e you are to keep secrett to y^r^ selfe.

XCI.—Lord Conway[a] to the Earl of Essex.

May it please Yo^r^ Excel^cie^, November 15, 1673.

I came to this towne the 15th instant; my Lord Ranela met me at Wickham, and Mr Speaker[b] at Uxbridge. On Sunday I kist the King's hand, dined with my Lord Treasurer, and sup^t^ with our new Lord Keeper.[c] Yesterday I waited upon the Duke of Yorke

[a] Earl of Conway, Viscount Conway of Conway Castle and Killultagh, Baron Conway of Ragley; born about 1623; Captain of Horse, 1660; Justice of the Peace for Warwickshire, 1661; Joint Commissioner to examine the War Accounts, 1661; Governor of Armagh, Tyrone, Monaghan, and part of Down; Joint Commissioner of Customs, 1673-1675; Lieut.-General of Horse, 1674; Earl of Conway, 1679; Lord-Lieutenant of Warwickshire, 1681; Secretary of State for Northern Department, 1681-1683; Privy Council, 1681; died August 11, 1685. The confidential letters from London now begin.

[b] Seymour.

[c] Heneage Finch, in succession to Shaftesbury, who has been dismissed.

Digitized by Google

and my Lord Arlington, as also upon my Lord of Ormonde and my Lord Ossory.

Ld Trear. told me that *Essex was soe lock't up in a box with Arl: that He could entertaine no correspondence with Essex but civility.* My answer was, that *Essex entred not into any intriegues with Arl. but only transmitted affaires by Arl: to King;* he replyed that, that was *Arl: greatest support. Hen. Finch is brought in by Osborn & Seymour. King was alter'd six times in six hours about it. Two days after Osb: Speaker were jealous, Hen: Finch closed with Arl:; this made Speaker meet mee, and Conw: keeps them united.* If *Kg. France furnishes King a million of our money besides our salary,*[a] *then Parlm^t will not meet, & all these will fall, but if Parl: sits Duke, Anglesey, Arl: will be in danger. Sr H. Capel spoke much in Parl: against giving money, and aggravated grievances; this reflects so far upon Essex that Ormond was spoken of to succeed him. Herbert was more violent,* and hath *rendred himselfe odious to King.*[b] *Du: Cleaveland is with child, by Moulgrave, & in no favor with King. King fears & hates D: of Yorke, yet is wholy govern'd by him; Lodd is in with Treasurer, Ormond wth Arl: Buck: is in horrible apprehensions of danger.*

I wish I had the honor to discourse of these affaires more particularly to yor Excel^ce. While I am here I shall seperat my selfe from all things but those wch relate either to yor service, or yor comands; tis that wch I have profest to yor Excel^ce, and wch the obligations you have layd upon me, requires of me, and the affection I beare to yor personall merit exceeds all other obligations, but after all this I shall only represent things as truly to you as I can, wch when you have compared with what you receave from others, you will be best able to make a judgement upon. I shall never presume to offer any of my owne.

I suppose yor Excel^ce will send me yor congratulatory Letters to

[a] The annual subsidy from Louis XIV.

[b] Letters XCII. and XCIV. show that this means William Harbord, at this time a violent member of the anti-court party.

Digitized by Google

my new Lord Keeper, who did me the honor yesterday to give me a visit at my Lodging. This night I am to meet *Trear.* aud *Speaker* in a place where none else can finde us out. I shall yet have a tug for the M^r^ of the Ordnance place.[a] Yo^r^ Excel^ce^ knowes who are my friends, and consequently you may easily iñagine who will be my enemyes. I suppose yor Excel^ce^ heard by the last of the conditions upon wch Bonne was surrendered, very dishonorable termes. The French had layd in there a vast Magazeene of Provisions, Ammunition, Armes, and Cannon, and Clothes for their Armyes. They begin now to say that Turene is old, and dotes.[b] I suppose yor Excel^ce^ will be no more troubled about Capt Barclay; he is heere soliciting for a Letter for the next company shall fall, but, upon the character I gave of him, my Lord Arlington promist me to stop it.

I am affrayd I have coñitted many falts in my Character,[c] wch I hope yor Excel^ce^ will pardon, because I am not yet practised in it. Upon notice of my errors I shall endeavour to mend them, and be alwayes zealous to assure yor Excel^ce^ of my being, &c.

XCII.—Lord Conway to the Earl of Essex.

[Essex Papers, vol. iv. fo. 194.]

May it please Yo^R.^ Excel^CE^, November 22, 1673,

My last to yor Excel^ce^ was dated the 18th instant, and yesterday, having the honor to wait upon *Sr H. Capell*, I desired him to write severall things to yor Excel^ce^ wch I thought would shorten my worke this Post. I am every day with *Osborne*, *Speaker*, *H. Finch*, and *Buckingham*, and they entrust *Conway* in their *councells.*

[a] Sir Thomas Chicheley obtained the place to Conway's disappointment.

[b] The winter campaign of 1674 in the Vosges was, perhaps, the most masterly he ever carried out. It ended in the complete rout of the Grand Elector of Brandenburg and the Allies.

[c] The cypher.

Digitized by Google

They are confident that *Arl:* and *Duke Y: will fall,* wch I doe not beleeve; *some words of King* is the ground of it, *who will speake to Duke: Arling: as bad of the others. Osborne* told me that if *Herbert was about, Essex*—though he should put all the confidence in *Essex* w^ch^ *Conway* desired, yet he was sure *that other would betray him to Arling. K: of France doth offer the mony King demands,* 'tis pleasant to see how *our party bestirr themselves to be at him for it;* I was last night with *Shaftesbury,* and made all the complements I could to him in behalfe of *Essex;* he hath been *twice commanded by King to goe out of Towne, but will not stir. Orrery* is in towne, somewhat unsatisfied with *Essex,* but I hope he will not expresse it to any but *Conway,* who hath assured him his apprehensions were groundlesse.

* * * * *

XCIII.—The Earl of Orrery to the Earl of Essex.

My Lord, Warrick house, the 25th of Nov^ber^, '73.

I esteeme it a Duty to acquaint your Lp. that on Wednesday I got to this Place, But I am soe newly com hither, & have my Time taken up soe much with Receivinge of Visits, as I am yet unable to Inquire after newse. Only I shall give yor Ex^ce^ a Relation of his Ro: H^s^: Marriadge at Dover, as I received it, from a Nephew of myne, who has the honour to waite on Him & who was all ye while present.

The Bp. of Oxford First asked his R. Hig^s^ if he had the Kings concent to marry Mary D'Estee, Prin^s^ of Modena, to wch the Duke Answered, Yes. The Bp. then Asked ye Ld Peterborough if he had Authority from His Maj^ty^ & Power from ye Duke to contract ye said Marriage, & if his Lp. had observed all ye Instructions given him in y^t^ Behalfe. His Lp. Answer'd, Yes. Y^e^ Bp. then asked

Digitized by Google

ye Duke if he were content to marry Mary D'Estee, Princes of Modena. The Duke Answer'd, Yes. The Bp. then asked ye Dut^s^. if she were content to marry James, Duke of Yorke; she said Yes (in French). The Bp. then Declared them Man & Wife, in the name of the Father & of ye Son, & of the Holy Ghost. This he assured me was all y^t^ passed, in y^t^ Action & Sollemnity.

* * * * *

XCIV.—The Earl of Essex to Lord Conway.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, Novemb^r^ 29th, '73.

I have rec̃d two of y^r^ Lop̃s, one of ye 15th, & another of ye 22th instant, in both wch are severall particulars of great use to me, & ye continuance of y^r^ correspondence will enable me from Time to Time to know ye Temper of Affairs in England.

It has ever bin my method in all matters to keep ye plain way, & so long as my Lord of Arlington continues in ye station where He is I can doe no other than hold ye same measures wth him as formerly; besides, my Lord Arlington has ever bin a Friend to me, whose maxime is not to lessen my respect to those that are my Friends but upon very good grounds. As for Mr Will Harbord's succeeding S^r^ H: Ford, I did from ye very first give caution to my brother Sr Hen: Capell, that by no means He or any other should come that was not agreeable to ye King; but for Mr Harbord's betraying any thing to my Lord of Arlington, you may be assured, & may also assure y^r^ Friends, that I never entrust him or any other but my owne Closett Secretary,[a] wth my correspondencys in England, & I take Will: Harbord to be a very quick man for dispatch of business, & having experience of his integrity towards me upon

[a] Aldworth, in whose hand these copies of Essex's letters are written.

Digitized by Google

other occasions, I am confident He will be a very usefull servant to me in ye station I designed him,[b] & you will know what want I have of one in that employm^t^.

Pray acquainte y^r^ Friends that upon all occasions of ye Revenue I shall not faile to communicate them to my Ld Treãr: for matters of Grants to my Lord Keeper, & for other intelligences by ye Kings especiall command I am to apply to my Lord of Arlington, & doubtless 'tis best for ye frame of his Mãties business that his Ministers doe impart his affairs respectively to ye persons properly employ'd, according to their severall & distinct Trust: wch I am sure shall be my Rule, so long as I serve his Mãtie: & should I doe other, it were making my selfe judge who were fitt for ye King to employ, & not leaving it to his Mãtie to distribute his owne business into ye Hands He thinks most proper to manage it.

And by holding this course I cannot see but I may preserve ye Friendship of all, whatever disputes or Factions there may be one among another. Therefore, as opportunity serves, you may tell y^r^ Friends, particularly Ld. Keeper, Ld. Treãr, Mr. Speaker, & Orrery too, if you think fitt, that I shall not be wanting in my respects towards them, suitable to ye stations wherein they serve his Mãtie, nor in any offices of friendship wherein I may be in a capacity to evidence it; And for y^r^ selfe you may ever rely upon my being wth all Truth, &c.

XCV.—Lord Conway to the Earl of Essex.

May it please Yo^r^ Excel^ce^, November 29, 1673.

I have presumed to write to y^r^ Excel^ce^ the 18th and the 22th, and to Sr Arthur Forbesse the 18th and the 25th, so that I have not

[b] His London secretary.

Digitized by Google

omitted any post since I came to towne, nor shall I omit any, if my Letters are of any service or entertainment to yor Excel^{ce}.

The Dutchesse of Yorke came to Whitehall on Wensday last. The King brought her up from the Barge to the Queen's Presence Chamber, and stopt in the outer drawing-roome till the Queen came to the dore of the Presence Chamber to meet her; the Duke of Yorke led up the Dutchesse of Modena, and as soon as they were entred the Prescence Chamber the King called for a chayre for her, upon wch my Lady Suffolke, my Lady Falmouth, and the rest of the Ladyes to the number of 20 that were of the Nobility ran out of the roome, as thinking themselves of equall quality to the Dutchesse of Modena; and that night the King sent to the Duke to desire that she might not be in the Roome when the Ladyes came to kisse the Dutchesse of Yorke's hand, wch was order'd accordingly. I went with my Lord Keeper and my Lord Tresurer on Thursday morning, when they kist her hand. She is a proper hansome Lady. She hath very good eyes, very good features, and a very good complexion, but she wants the Aire wch should set off all this, and having been bred in a Monastry knows not how to set one foot before another with any gracefulnesse. I observed that though many comended her in their discourse to the Duke, yet none wisht him joy, nor would the City be brought to make Bonfires.

What I writ last to *Sr A. Forbese* I had from *Speak.* and *Trear.* but *Orrery* is of opinion *Parlim^{t} will sett*, and that *King having made sure the money of France, wil endeavor to get more of Parlem^{t}.*[a] *Spe.* and *Trear. are enemies to Herbert*, and swore to *Con.* that from the day he was *Secretary to Essex they would push at Essex.* I have had many debates with myselfe whether I should write this to you or not, and at last I resolved that though it should ruine me in yor favor, yet I would preserve my integrity, and tell you truth.

[a] A vote was carried, after a prolonged and most interesting debate, to refuse supply before the danger from Popish councillors, and other grievances, were removed, unless the obstinacy of the Dutch should render it necessary.

Digitized by Google

I cannot omit one passage wch probably yor Excel^ce^ will not have from any other hand, it is that upon Wensday last, before the Lords Com^rs^ of the Admiralty, Sr Tho. Littleton reproacht my Lord Tresurer, and calt him a cheat, upon wch all the Lords Com^rs^ rose up in great disorder. The occasion of it was this, The Victuallers of the Navy were turned of, and a new contract made with others; the old ones were all admitted to speak to the King, except Sr Tho. Littleton, who, it is thought, will be sent to the Tower next Councell day, wch is not till Wensday.

* * * * *

On Munday next the King hath appointed to heare it debated before the Coñittee for Forrain affaires, whether the Office of M^r^ of the Ordnance in Ireland shall stand, or fall into the office under Sr Tho. Chicheley in England.

Last night my Lord Tresurer carryed me to my Lady Shrewsberryes, where there was Nell Gwyn, the Duke of Buckingham, and Mr Speaker. About three a clock in the morning we went to supper, were very merry, and drank smartly. I wish I knew how to write yor Excel^ce^ all our good discourse, for I assure yor Excel^ce^ that I am, with the greatest sincerity imãginable, &c.

XCVI.—The Earl of Essex to Charles II.

May it please Y^R^ Majestie, December 1, 1673.

There hath bin of late some discourses here as if it were necessary for ye welfare of this Country that ye Lieu^t^ & Councell did now make some representation to y^r^ Majestie of ye State of this Kingdome, & tho' none as yet ventured to move it in Councell, yet I know severall of y^r^ privy Councell^rs^ are much inclined to promote an Adress of this nature, if it were once brought into debate; but I am confident I have Interest enough to prevent ye progress, & I hope even ye offering any such thing to be considered off at ye board, & at ye last I am entrusted wth a negative upon ye whole

Digitized by Google

Table, in case ye major part should be induced to offer any thing of this nature to y^r^ Majestie, for when I consider ye proceedings wch have bin in England, and those seconded in ye same manner in Scotland,[a] I cannot but judge that, should any Adress of ye like sort come from ye Lieu^t^ and Councell here (who in ye Intervalls of Parliam^t^ are looked upon as ye publick intrusted persons of this Kingdome), it would certeinly adde much fuell to that fire wch seems too neer kindling in those other y^r^ Majesties dominions, & would render ye jealousies & misunderstandings (if any there be) between y^r^ Mat̃ie & y^r^ people in a yet more perplexed & entangled condition. I shall therefore apply my selfe, wth all circumspection, to prevent even ye mention of any motion that may tend to ye promoting of any Publick Adress to be made by y^r^ Majestie. Nor doe I indeed know what these men have to say, unless it be to represent ye poverty of ye country occasioned by ye present War, or ye mischiefs wch some men suffer by ye frequent robberys that are dayly committed. For the first of these, wch is ye only one thing that may carry wth it a colour for a publicke Adress, y^r^ Mat̃ie, I am sure, cannot but be sensible that ye interruption of Trade must needs cause a failure of Rents in all men's Estates, & it hath already bin made evident to y^r^ Mat̃ie how much our Losses are by this war, when you were graciously pleased to allow twelve thousand P̃ds to ye Farmers, by way of defalcation, out of ther Rents for ye Customs, wch is more then one-fifth part of this whole revenue; so as y^r^ Mat̃ie having y^r^ selfe given a sufficient prooff how affected you are wth ye sufferings of ye country in this kind, there needs not any representation of this matter, or if there did, I humbly conceive it were much more for y^r^ Majesties Service that you should receive information of these grievances, rather by a private L̃re from my selfe, then by a publick Act, wch in such cases carrieth too much a shew of discontent. As for ye robberys committed in this Kingdome, they doe dayly increase, and are, I confess, grown to such an height as they are become a reproach to ye Goverment, & look almost like petit

[a] See Lauderdale Papers, vol. ii. p. 241.

Digitized by Google

rebellions, they goeing by 20 or 30 in a company, breaking open Houses even in ye day Time. Many complaints of this kind have bin brought to ye Councell, & upon every information of this sort ye generallitie of ye Privy Councell^rs^ immediately move for ye setting up of ye Militia here in ye severall Countys, & press it wth great earnestness; but for my owne part, when I reflect upon ye present posture of affairs, both in England & Scotland, & consider that as to ye English here, they are many of them ye remains of Cromwell's Army, & as to ye Scotch, they are for ye most part Presbyterians, & that these are ye men who will have arms putt into their hands & be formed into bodys, I cannot judge this of all others a seasonable Time to establish a Militia, but conceive it much more advisable for y^r^ Maẗie to depend upon y^r^ Army, whom I look upon as very entire & secure to y^r^ service. I must confess ye humour of men runns so high for this Militia as I cannot positively deny ye promoting of it without giving a jealously that I am not a favourer of ye Protestant Interest, & therefore I doe entertaine them upon this subject wth some discourses, as if I were goeing in hand wth it; as enquiring where ye Arms are wch belong to ye Militia, & giving out some litle proportions of Powder to those who have bin Captains in order to ye defence of their Houses, tho' I really intend nothing less then ye forming of this Force, being very confident that wth those few Troops, wch y^r^ Maẗie has in pay here, I shall be able to keep all quiet. And for ye suppression of these lawless people who committ outrages in ye country, who have already done some service in ye apprehension of these Torys; but should this evill continue, there must be some sharper course taken to correct it by commissionating Marreschales, wth powr to proceed ag^t^ these Malefactors by Martiall law, wch tho' it be not altogether agreable to ye Laws of ye Kingdome, yet in case of necessitie has ever bin indulged & practised here. And this I conclude, wth y^r^ Maẗies approbation, will be a much better course to be taken then ye establishing a Militia at this Time, when I am so far from assuring my selfe of their obedience that I am confident, should there be Troubles in

Digitized by Google

England, those of Cromwell's Army would be forward enough to give y^r^ Maties affaires disquiett here, as ye Scotch would likewise undoubtedly follow ye patterne of those of their owne nation, in case any disorder should happen in that Kingdome.

Some late Lres from England doe informe me, that y^r^ Matie has a proposall before you for ye resignation of my Lord Ranelagh's undertaking, as also that of ye Farme, & so ye revenue to be brought into y^r^ owne management. I cannot so far neglect my duty as not to tell y^r^ Matie that, in my apprehension, I scarce know at this conjuncture a Councell more hazardous to ye welfare & quiett of this Kingdome then this seems to be, for should y^r^ Matie resume ye revenue into y^r^ owne hands, all changes of this nature must, as I conceive for some space, cause a stop to all Paym^ts^, and it will be many months before it can be setled from ye course wherein now it is into another; therefore I humbly offer it to y^r^ Maties consideration, whether this season, when affairs are so cloudy in y^r^ Maties other two dominions, can be proper to endanger ye putting things in disorder here too. If y^r^ Matie shall thinke fitt for some litle time to respitt y^r^ resolution of altering ye methods y^r^ revenue is now in, I hope ye weather may prove fairer in England and Scotland, & then it will not be so much materiall what is done in relation to us, but truly at ye present, as I am very confident of preserving ye Publicke Peace & quiett here in ye posture we now are in, so I am very apprehensive of what will follow in case y^r^ Maties revenue should be at this moment discomposed.

The particulars I have troubled y^r^ Matie wth are of so high a concernment to y^r^ Maties service, as I chose rather to represent them to y^r^ selfe then to goe through ye hands of any of y^r^ Ministers. As to my carriage in ye two first of them mentioned in this Lre, viz., concerning a Publicke Adress & ye establishing of a Militia[a] here, I shall attend ye signification of y^r^ pleasure by one of y^r^ Secretarys, & as y^r^ Matie shall thinke fitt to approve or disallow of my Proceedings, I shall for ye future conforme my selfe to y^r^ Maties commands wth that duty wch becomes, &c.

[a] See later letters on this matter.

Digitized by Google

XCVII.—Lord Conway to the Earl of Essex.

May it please yo^R Excel^cie London, December 6, 1673.

* * * * *

The Parliam^t will certainly meet the 7th of January. *Trear.* hath infinitly eclipsed *Arling.* with *King. Keeper, Trear.*, and *Speaker* doe play a cunning game, for they are intimat with *Duke*, and labor to be *popular in Parliam^t.* If *next Sessions be favourable to them they* will *be great.*

* * * * *

XCVIII.—The Duke of Ormond to the Earl of Essex.

My Lord, Clarendon House, 9 Dec. '73.

The changes of persons & things in that Kingdome have bin so great since I came hence, that any information from mee can bee of very litle use to y^r Ex^ncy; but when any thing comes in my way or into my thoughts that I can conceive may contribute to the service of the King in your management, I shall with all freedome imparte it to you.

It is without doubt needefull that y^r Ex^ncy, & whoever Governes for the King there, should have good intelligence of the temper and designes of the severall partys there, of whom there are non so numerous, so agreeing in principles of Religion, or so unsatisfied with their condition as the Irish Papists, and therefore y^r Ex^ncy does most prudently to continue such differences as arises amongst them in poynt of secular intrest, for to that all their contentions referre. When I had the honour to Governe in that Kingdom, I found meanes to devide them upon the subscription of a certaine

Digitized by Google

Remonstrance[a] declaring their fidelity to the King in temperalls in such termes & to that degree that was not agreeable to the pretences of the Pope. This Remonstrance with the countenance given to the subscribers & discountenance to the refusers got ground very fast; but after I was recal'd this cours was neglected if not inverted, & the subscribers were exposed to the persecution of the refusers even in Ireland; if this test had bin continued, it would have made a more usefull & reasonable distinction then that betwixt Regulars & Seculars, for, as many Regulars are well affected to the Government, so divers seculars are as dangerous to it; but it was not easy to make this understood in an English House of Commons, nor was there time for it. As the case stands y^r Ex^ncy is certainly in the right to give those you have found usefull such a protection as you mention.

I am beter acquainted with the clauses in my Lord of Ranellagh's, &c. contract then I am of late with his Lo^p or any of them, but that whole affaire is transacted so totally betwixt the King & them that there is rarely so much as any mention made of anything that relates to it where I am. I should think that if there were no such clauses in the contract, yet the naturall Authority of a Cheef Governour would intitle you to such an inspection into their proceedings, & subject all that have to doe with the Revenue to such & so often accompts as you shall please to call for, of wch certainly a charge is as necessary a parte as a discharge. I would, therefore, if it were my case, call for such an accoumpt as might as well informe mee what has bin received as what has bin pay'd, from whence only it may bee collected what probabillity there is that the contractors will performe their undertaking; and if my L^d of Ranellagh shall get positive comands to supercede so faire a way of accoumpting, y^r Ex^ncy will bee discharged, & it will bee argument of suspition that all is not lyke to goe well with those that desire to obstruct it. This my Lo^d is on this subject the sence of, &c.

[a] See an account of this 'Remonstrance' in Ingram's *Two Chapters of Irish History*, pp. 16 and following. This statement of Ormond gives a somewhat different complexion to the affair.

Digitized by Google

XCIX.—Lord Conway to the Earl of Essex.

May it please yo^R Excel^CE, London, December 13, 1673.

* * * * *

Ld Keeper com̃anded *Conway* to tell *Essex* that he could not doe any thing more acceptable to *King* then to *write to Sr Hen. Capell to comply with Court prty in ye House of Comons in things moderate and reasonable,*[a] and *Keeper* will *informe King of it,* with all *advantage to Essex.* This is the only way for any man at present *to ingratiate* himselfe *with King,* who hath *ordered Trear. Keeper, S. Coventry, Speaker,* and others to *use all their skill to make his interest good in H. of Comons.* Upon this account it is that *Speaker* is ordered *to keep the chair,* wch he thought *to have quitt. They all disposed of this course,* and are *ignorant whether King will comply with Parliam^t or not,* in relation either to *France* or *Duke,* but tis certaine they *cutt Arlington with his owne weapons by complying in both with King humour,* and may probably by this meanes *bring King off from both.*

Keeper is a reall friend to *Essex,* and I am confident that *Trear.* will be so at least while *Conway* is here. *He hates Mr Harbord above all mankind,* and I cannot tell the reason. I believe *Speaker* is a great cause, but not all.

* * * * *

King hath shewed *Ranelagh* a Letter of *Essex* wherein he says that *Ranelagh* is *breaking,* and *selling his farme. Essex may hurt* himselfe, but not *Ranelagh,* with *King,* who *stands faire to succeed Arling^t;* and *is in with Trear. Keeper, Speaker, Duke, etc.* It reflects upon *Essex* that, at the same time, *He wrote obligingly* to *Ranelagh.*

* * * * *

[a] On Dec. 30, Essex wrote refusing to influence Henry Capel's conduct or votes.

Digitized by Google

C.—Lord Conway to the Earl of Essex.

May it please Yo^R Excel.^CE, London, December 20, 1673.

* * * * * *

King is firme to the Interest of France; if Parliam^t be so calme and prudent as to *give him mony they may buy him off from France* and *Duke*, otherwise *they will not sitt long, both will create alterations; Trear.* and *Duke push hard at Arling. Trear. designes the place to Orrery*, but I am confident it will never be. *Ranelagh* will shortly be of the Privy Councell.

* * * * *

CI.—Sir W. Temple to the Earl of Essex.

My Lord, London, Decembr 25th, 1673.

I receaved not long since by my Brother's letter something like an excuse for y^r Ex^ncys not writing to mee so often as you intended, wch I shall onely returne with assuring you that the least thought of that kind is more then needs. I should bee very sorry to faile of a letter from y^r L^sp whenever you thought I could bee of any use to you, or to receave one whenever it costs you the time should have been spente upon those that can. Upon my coming to Towne I finde such a scene as makes every bodys head turne round that did not foresee it, all that flatter'd themselves with the imaginations of a generall peace are but too much disabused. And those who reckon'd about a weeke agoe upon our being content with our owne separate from France, are for the present at an ende of their accounts, though all the personal attempts that can bee have been made, and so much light given into the generall posture of our

Digitized by Google

affairs as has served to trouble and perhaps dasle, though not to guide those who receave it. The Parlement will certainly meet, and a tryall bee made upon them for money with all complyance they can desire in any point besides that of going on with the Warr and the French Alliance, but I doe not yet discerne any appearance of their beeing satisfyed without those two forbidden points. Nor doe I finde how elegantly soever the Ministers defende the necessity or prudence of those late counsels, that they themselves beleeve any body persuaded by what they say, or the humor of the Parlement or Nation is like to bee at all either sweeten'd or changed in what concerns them.

Last Munday the French Ministers heer thought their game plaid ill, but on Tuesday they recover'd, and the answer to the Spanish Am^{brs} Memoriall came out in the style wch is by all interpreted to signifye no peace but in conjunction with France. Upon this the talke is of ye French furnishing their 600 M. Pistoles towards the charge of the Warr, with forty ships for the next fleete, and of the Duke's commanding it. But the ill humor of the Seamen is such that the best friends of this design promise themselves little success, especially if *H. of Comons* make *any sharpe Vote* upon that occasion as is feared, and for prevention whereof the first strength of *Court* will bee imployed to keepe *Speaker in Chair*, contrary to what was resolved about a fortnight since. I will assure Y^{r} L^{sp} Sr Harry Capel is a Gentleman much more known in the nation then you left him, and much more considered at Courte as well as in the country since the last session, though in different kindes. I thinke y^{r} L^{sp} need not trouble y^{r}self much about it, but leave him to his good senses and his good starrs, Hee is yett very young in the busy world, and must have many such heats and colds as thees before hee is at his journey's ende. The shorte of our present story seems to bee that the Courte will upon no tearms fall out with the French Alliance, and the Nation will upon no tearms fall in with it; and what the issue of this must bee in the success of our next expedition to sea, or in the consequences

Digitized by Google

of any misfortune there arriving upon our losse of trade by a breach with Spain, I leave to Y^r L^p to imagine, that wch makes *this obstinacy in the Court is* not onely the *violence of Duke, but* the *dread of* having all that *has passed* between *them & France published* if they *anger France*, and how this will bee remedyed, God of Heaven knows. *Buckingham* gains ground every day of *Arlington* with *King* and *Duke*. Hee and *Treasurer* and *Speaker* are, I thinke, at this time the persons of greatest *power* as long as 'twill last, for 'tis very transitory upon this scene. My *Ld Conway* is absolutely in with them and the Court and *Ranelagh*, so is *Orrery*[a] with all those persons, but pretends to hold of from designs of *Court*, unless *King* shall agree with *Parlm^t*, in wch case hee may bee a reserve to the rest of his friends that might bee broken. For the foreign affairs there is very little this weeke of new. 'Tis thought the Duke of Lutsemburg has escaped from the Imperialists and the Counte Mountarey, who design'd to have cutt of his retreate to Mastricht, wch will, I suppose, ende the action of this campania unles the Dutch attempt some Towns upon a hard frost if it arrives this winter. I never heard worse descriptions then are made of France by all that come over as to their great wante of men as well as money, and the decay of all trade. I give the more credit to it from a letter I saw to-day, whereby I finde that the Courte there has absolutely taken off the 30 per cent. wch was laid severall years since upon all foreign Manufactures and enacted with the greatest rigor, but they have given liberty for the Spaniards and Dutch subjects to come and fetch off what wines they please out of that Kingdome, paying one crowne upon every Tunn beyond all the former dutys, but this condition is put in onely for a good pretext, whereas the true reason is the extream ill effects they feele already by the wante of trade, and this letter adds

[a] On Jan. 31, W. Harbord writes to warn Essex "how ill a man Orrery is, and how false to Essex." On Feb. 3, he warns Essex similarly against Ranelagh as being "as dangerous a man as lives," and "so slippery." Conway, on the other hand, is "studious in Essex's service."

Digitized by Google

they are so greate, that if their wines lye upon their hands another yeare, some insurrection of the people will not bee avoyded. On the other side, they tell mee the Count Montarey is agreed with the Dutch for the absolute prevention of this trade into Flanders and Holland, not onely to confiscate what shall come from France (wch they finde will not extinguish it), but to breake up all Vessels of Wine and let them runn out in the streets, and burne the other forbidden commoditys. To ende this trouble, give mee leave to tell y^{r} L^{ep} that in the midst of thees traverses wch are many upon the scene, and may bee many more, I conceave y^{r} interest is to stande wholly upon y^{r} owne leggs, and the merits of a prudent, diligent, and disinteressed management of the affairs in y^{r} circle, to live well with those you were well with when you left this place, to live fairly with any new Ministers the King has or shall thinke fitt to bring into play, but to change no correspondences or applications you have been used to unles by the King's command, aud perhaps to let the King in particular know y^{r} resolution in that pointe, and in this train, if the Nation has any good stars, I know not why Y^{r} L^{ep} may not come to bee as necessary to the greatest Ministers heer as any of them to you, at least this is the opinion of a very faithful, humble servant.

CII.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Danby.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, Dec. 30, 1673.

I have lately had ye favor of receiving two of y^{r} Lõps, one of ye 4th & another of ye 12th of Dec. In ye latter of wch y^{r} Lõp hath bin pleased to give some directions concerning ye examination of

Digitized by Google

losses sustained by ye Farmers of his Maties revenue, upon ye occasion of this present War, all wch shall be punctually pursued.

My Intelligence from England tells me, that ye King is not yet resolved as to ye disposall of ye Master of ye Ordnance Place here; I have taken a litle pains to examine whether it were ever under ye charge of ye Master of ye Ordnance in England, wch I had bin told it once was, but cannot finde that in any former Times this Kingdome was without a distinct Officer in that Employm^t^. And to say ye Truth, I am for my owne part somewhat unwilling any thing belonging to ye greatness of this Goverm^t^ should be lessen'd in my Time. I know it may be sayd, that in case this Office be supply'd wth a Deputy, & made subordinate to ye M^r^ of ye Ordnance in England, such a Presid^t^ may reach as a patterne, & perhaps wth more reason, to many other Officers here, as Chancell^r^, Chief Justice, etc, whose judicatures, noe doubt, are subordinate to those of ye Courts in England, & Appeals from these to them. Now, ye M^r^ of ye Ordnance Place was ever (as I am informed) independent of that in England, & being a Military Officer absolutely under ye Lieu^ts^ command, tho' ye Person all ways of ye King's nomination; but sure I am, Tis very probable that inconveniences may hereafter follow upon such a change; for should ye Lieu^t^ here, and ye M^r^ of ye Ordnance in England (who commonly is a great Man, & all ways present at Court, & at hand to support his owne Interest), be upon any ill Terms one with another, ye Stores would infallibly be ill provided, & such a Deputy be employ'd, as would cross & thwart ye Lieu^t^, so as in cases of War it may happen to be very fatall to ye Kings Affairs; whereas when that Office is executed by a person here upon ye place, & so immediately under ye Lieut^s^ command, without dependance on any other. He may be kept more strictly to his duty, & not be able to support himselfe in opposition to any of ye Lieu^ts^ Orders. Much of this exception I confess for ye present is not in ye case, in regard of ye worthyness of ye person, who enjoys that Place in England, & ye particular

Digitized by Google

good correspondence wch I have for a long time had wth him, there being not a Gentleman I know, whom I better esteeme, yet methinks in all consults of this nature, wherein ye Setlement of a Kingdome is concern'd, great regard ought to be had to ye future, for surely Governments would not be long lived if the Establishm^ts^ of them be fram'd only for ye present convenience.

Having given a hint of these arguments to y^r^ Lõp for ye continuance of that Office, I am sure I have placed them in a hand who will much improve them, & adde reasons of more strength then I can pretend to offer; I shall only say this further, that observing how much his Maẗie has bin wrong'd in that Office, & taking ye best measures I can, from whence those Abuses arose, that for ye time to come they may be prevented, I humbly propose that whosoever his Maẗie shall think fitt to appoint for ye execution of that Employment, He may be absolutely prohibited from selling any places under him, or to make any profitts to himselfe by sale of any Amunition, or Cast Arms, etc. And truly I think this latter more especially necessary, for since his owne substitutes are Judges, what Arms, Amunition, etc. are unserviceable; it may easily be guess'd what acc^t^ ye King is like to have of his Stores whilst ye partys concerned in ye profitts may carve & take what they please to their owne advantage.

CIII.—Lord Conway to the Earl of Essex.

May it please Yo^R^ Excel^CE^, December 30, 1673.

* * * * *

We have little news stirring, all being preparatives for the sitting of the Parliam^t^. Captn Titus told the King that no body doubted now of the sitting of the Parliam^t^, because the Duke of Buckingham

Digitized by Google

was at Church twice upon Christmasse day, and receaved the Sacrament.

In Scotland, my Lord Lauderdale hath issued a more severe Proclamation against Roman Catholicks then any of ours.

The Dutch have also conveyed over a printed Letter, by way of Reply to the King's answer, thinking thereby to insinuat to the Parliam^t^ their readinesse to give all manner of satisfaction and complyance. I have read the Letter, but could not get one to send yor Excel^ce^.

Keeper is to acquaint Parliam^t^ that King leaves it to them to secure religion and property by the old or new Laws, and there will be *private informations that King will breake the French allyance by Michelmas; all this is to get the French money,* and *to preserve our greate men,* but if that *will not doe, He will leave them. Keeper told me this,* and that *Arlington, Anglesey, Buckingham, Lodderdale,* and possibly *Ormond, are the men in danger.*

The Dutchesse of Modena is gonne away this morning in great wrath and displeasure with most of the Ladys of our Court, and the Duke hath already made his visitts to Mrs. Churchill.

* * * * *

CIV.—Lord Conway to the Earl of Essex.

May it please Yo^r^ Excel^cie^, London, January 10, 167⅓.

I have had the honor to receave yor Excel^cies^ Letter of the 30th past, and have delivered that enclosed to my Lord Tresurer. I doe acknowledge my selfe extreamly obliged to yor Excel^ce^ for it, and the same day that I delivered it, wch was last Thursday in the afternoone, I stayed with his Lords^p^ in discourse only till 2 or 3 a clock in the morning. *Orrery* came in, and was much dissatisfied that *King* had not given him directions how to *governe himselfe in H.*

Digitized by Google

of Comons. Buckingham came in and told us *He should be impeached on Munday next in H. of Comons. King designes* the *Master of the Horse place to Monmouth. Ormond* and *Arlington will be impeached next week, one in H. of Lords, ye last in H. of Comons.*

I would have enclosed the King's Speech and my Lord Keeper's, but that I am sure you will receave many of them from other hands. The Howse of Comons adjourned presently till Munday next. The Howse of Lords were entertained with a Petition against the Duke of Buckingham and my Lady Shrewsberry, setting forth the killing of the late Earle of Shrewsberry, their open and scandalous way of living together, and the publick enterment of their bastard child in Westminster as Earle of Coventree. This Petition was presented by 5 or 6 Unckles and Guardians to the present Earle of Shrewsberry; the Howse rec^{d} it, and required them to put in their answer next Thursday, but my Lady Shrewsberry is fled. I suppose the intention of this is only to usher in something else. Yet I cannot chuse but tell yor Excel^{ce} that I saw the Dutchesse of Buckingham crying and tearing her selfe, and doth solicit with the greatest passion both for the Duke of Buckingham and my Lady Shrewsberry that can be in the world.

After this the Howse of Lords voted their humble thanks to his Matie for his gratious Speech.

Next day they voted an Addresse to his Matie for banishing all Papists, or reputed Papists, who are not Howsekeepers or Meniall Servants attending the Peers, 10 miles from this city during this Session, with a Provisoe that 6 of the Cowncell may give License to such as they think fit. The Duke of Yorke was gonne to dinner when the Lords took up this debate, and my Lord Anglesey sent a Messenger after him to call him back to the Howse, where, after great contest, there were no other Negatives but these two, and my Lord Northampton.

Yesterday it was presented to the King, and his Matie promist to issue out his Proclamation accordingly.

Digitized by Google

I beseech Yo^r Excel^ce to consider *the last part of King speech. It was the consultation of many days and nights that produced it. He fumbled in delivering it, and made it worse then in the print; yet there you may observe 'tis incoherent, and all this is for fear of D. of Yorke.*[a]

I doe beleeve the Howse of Coñons will Vote the King a Supply when their grevances are redrest, but not particularise the sume, and I have great reason to hope they will carry themselves with moderation and affection to the King. I could say something of the hopes and fears of particular persons, but I suppose it will be more proper to acquaint you with them when they are reduced to certainty, and as they happen.

It is sayd my Lord Chancelor of Ireland will be questioned for some things, and I find it reported that I have a hand in it, and that I have procured Mr. Sacheverell to undertake it. I doe, therefore, assure Yo^r Excel^ce that I have never spoke a word to any man since I came into England to injure my Lord Chancelor. It is true Mr. Sacheverell came hither to me upon Tewsday last, but he did not speak to me, or I to him, either concerning my Lord Chancellor or any person or affaires of Ireland. I was employed by *Treasurer* to speak with him upon other matters. 'Tis thought there did not appeare lesse then 400 men in the Howse of Coñons the first day of the Sessions. The Howse of Lords also is very full.

* * * * *

CV.—The Earl of Essex to Sir William Searle.

S^R,

Dublin Castle, Jan. 10th, 7¾.

I have lately reĉd severall Lr̃es from you concerning ye Torys, &

[a] This is a notice of much interest. Hitherto Charles II. in his speeches to Parliament had not told any open and deliberate lie. On this occasion, however, Jan. 7, 167¾, he did; and Conway's note is the only record of his embarrassment.

Digitized by Google

am very glad to hear of ye good success that y^r^ selfe & others employ'd in those parts have had ag^t^ them. In y^r^ last, dated Jan. 6th, you make mention of one Owen More Magunshannan, who you tell me has bin som way instrumentall in discovering those sort of people; if this man, or any other we can finde not guilty of murther, will doe such considerable services for ye apprehension of others, who have committed robberys or Facts of that nature, as may deserve his Majesties mercy, I shall extend it towards two or three of them; but I conceive it a litle too far to engage them to bring in any man dead or alive, being ye last remedy, wch I am not willing to apply till I finde other means faile for reducing these lawless people to their due obedience. However, I desire you would give all reasonable encouragem^t^ to such of this sort as you imagine will be assistant to ye finding out & apprehending of any of these Robbers.

CVI.—Lord Aungier to the Earl of Essex.

May it please Yo^R^ Ex^cye^, Lond. Jan. ye 17th, 1673.

* * * * *

On Wenesday the Duke of Bucks desired to be heard againe in ye Howse of Comons, where upon Recollection he spoake wth more assurednesse & temper. But ye drift of all his discourse tended to cleare himselfe of breakeing the triple Allyance, frameing or advizeing the Declaration concerning Religion, and being ye authour of ye New Allyance wth France. But in doeing this he forgott his oath of a Privy Councellour haveing neither the Kings leave to reveale his Councill, nor ye leave of ye Howse of Peeres to attend ye Howse of Comons. And in endeavouring to cleare himselfe he layd all ye load he could upon my Lord Arlington, not only in his owne discourse,[a] but in answereing severall questions were

[a] See Letter LXXXVII.

Digitized by Google

asked him. And in ye close of all desired ye Howse not to consider him as a Peere, but as a Gentleman of Engld, sayeing that if notw^th^standing what he had sayd for himselfe they should conclude him a Greevance, He must saye & he hoped they would beleeve he was ye cheapest greevance Engld ever had. But I forgott to tell ye Ex^cye^ that when he was asked whom he meant by those who had gott from one to 5 hundred thousand pound, & by what meanes they gott it, He sayd that by ye 500000^ld^ he meant my Lord of Ormond, wch was upon Record; And my Lord Arlington by ye Rest, but how they both procured such vast Grants to themselves he knew not, for he never understood the wayes of getting. Soone after His Grace was retired the Howse fell upon the Debate, & after 3 howres spent in it they came to this Vote, That the Howse should humbly Addresse to His Matie to remove His Grace the Duke of Buck. from all ye employm^ts^ wch he holds dureing His Maties pleasure, And from His Maties Councills & presence for ever. And ye reason why ye removeall from his Employm^ts^ was limitted to such as he held during His Maties pleasure, was that there might be roome for his selling ye M^r^ of Horse's place, wch cost him so deare.

On Thursday the enclosed Articles ag^t^ my Lord Arlington were brought in by Sr Gilbert Gerrard, seconded by Sr Charles Wheeler. And my Lord Arlington haveing asked leave of His Matie & ye Howse of Lords upon his l^r^ to Mr Speaker was admitted into ye Howse of Comons, where in a very handsome discourse, exprest wth greate temper & prudence, he gave so good an acc^t^ of himselfe, that he not only wiped off all that dirt the Duke of Bucks had cast upon him the day before, But gave ye Howse a very good impression of his partes & capacitye for businesse, And had not his Generosity carryed him too farre in owning a concurrence in those councills wch have given so greate distaste to ye Nation, no parte else of his charge would have done him any greate harme. Yesterday was spent in debate upon ye last Article concerning treason, And upon a Motion of Sr Gilbert Gerrards to have time till this

Digitized by Google

Morning to consider whether he would undertake to make it good, the debate upon the whole charge was putt of till this day, when Sr Gilbert inform'd the Howse that there was a Gentleman w^th^out who would undertake to prove ye Article, who, being called in, told the Howse there was a Gentleman, now in France, who could & would make proofe of ye Article; that he was upon his returne into Engld, & he expected him every day, but could not ascertaine ye time. This person was one Cap^n^ Palden, of whom a good Character was given in the Howse; But since, I have learnt he is a meniall serv^t^ of ye Duke of Bucks, from whom he has all his subsistence.

Then ye Howse proceeded to ye rest of ye Articles, And Sr Charles Wheeler undertooke ye mennagem^t^ of ye first concerning Religion, wch tooke upon ye rest of the Morning, only upon that Article of imprisoning persons contrary to law, Sr Thomas Muddeford & his son were named, & ye Howse desiring to see ye War^ts^ by wch they were coñitted appoynted a Coñittee to attend ye Lieu^t^ of ye towne home there, to take a view of them, & reporte them on Munday till wch time ye further debate of this matter is adjourned.[a]

CVII.—William Harbord to the Earl of Essex.

May it please Y^R^ Excellency, Jan. 24, '7¾. London.

* * * * *

The Differences among ye great ones increase daily; & *Essex* getts ground in ye opinion of all good men, & Every body will have him *Treasurer*, as in Sick bodies so in Sickly goverments Change is desired; *King* sticks very close to *Arlington*, who hath a faire game to playe, & professeth all imaginable service to *Essex*;

[a] Arlington went free, in a great measure through the exertions of Henry Capel.

Digitized by Google

Mr. [illegible] is Chosen for Oxford in ye Ld. Keeper's place; a new Test is proposed where in ye Papist Lds. are concerned. The Lds. have made an order y^t^ no peer shall come into ye Howse of Commons upon paine of being sent to ye Tower; I have this day receaved a perwig for y^r^ Excell^ce^, & shall send it by ye first opportunity, & take all ye Hast I can to attend ye Service there; I feare *Treasurer* will not be able to playe his part wth any successe; & *Orrery* is much dissatisfyed & disappointed: his Lady takes upon her to speake very meanly of ye manner of living of *Essex*, & some other Defects she findes, or at least thinks so. And in truthe *Orrery* aimes mightely to succeede *Essex* in his poore Imployment. I know not what weather you have in Ireland, but our Country is all drowned wth Floods. This is all ye trouble I shall give yor Excellency at present.

CVIII.—The Earl of Essex to William Harbord.

MR Harbord, Dublin Castle, Jan. 25, 7¾.

* * * * *

We have of late, from severall of ye Justices of Peace of this Kingdome, rec̃d an Acc^t^ that they have apprehended severall Friers & Priests, who in contempt of ye Proclamation have presumed to stay longer then ye Time therein limited, & more particularly from four Justices in ye County of Donegall we had information that they had apprehended two Priests & committed them to Gaole, one of them a Deane & ye other a Frier, and therefore desired to hear from my selfe & ye Councell what directions we would give concerning them. To wch we returned Answer, that as for ye Deane if he were only a Secular & had never exercised Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction (of wch they ought dilligently to informe themselves), he was then not within ye Proclamation; but if otherwise, he & ye Frier (wch last was certainly within ye Intendment of that Act of

Digitized by Google

State) should remain committed, & be proceeded ag^t at ye next Assises according to law.

These are ye Orders wch we have issued out upon all occasions of this nature, & indeed whoever scanns ye words of ye Adress cannot, to my apprehension, putt any other construction upon them then such as we have done.

As for ye banishing of these B̃ps & Friers, together wth all such as have exercised Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, whatever may be apprehended at a distance, I am confident it is so far from causing a discontent, even among ye Papists themselves, that I am sure they are rather glad of it, these being a great burthen to them in ye collection of money, wch were perpetually made for their support, but should it be resolved to use ye like measure wth all ye Seculars, I am not without apprehensions what ye consequences thereof might be, there being severall hundred thousands of ye Popish religion in this Kingdome, & should any such thing be thought on, it were fitt ye King had a standing Army of at least fifteen or twenty thousand men in constant Pay & upon duty, for I would be loath to be answerable for ye peace of this Kingdome wth a less force, in case I were putt upon ye execution of such orders.

In ye Instructions wch I gave you at my parting, I directed you to carry copies of ye severall L̃res & Orders of Councell wch were from time to time issued to ye respective Magistrates for sending away these Priests & Friers. We still find new inventions of these Priests to evade ye execution of ye Proclamation. As particularly from Ross I hear that severall Friers being there putt on board some Ships in order to their transportation into forrein parts, were by ye Owners of ye Ships sett on shoar within ten miles of ye place, for wch these Owners are like to answer at their returne. And truly I perceive plainly, that unless his Matie send some Ships, or Orders to hire them, here on purpose to transport these people, we shall not be able to gett ye country clear'd of them.

The Lord Mayor of this Citty brought me a List of about 30 or more Priests & Friers who had given their names to him as being

Digitized by Google

in this Town in order to their transportation, & there being a Fleet of seven or eight merch^t men to goe for France, I directed him to see them putt on board & sent away. All wch he assures me is executed.

You may, when you have an opportunitie, show his Majestie this Lr̃e.

* * * * *

CIX.—Lord Aungier to the Earl of Essex.

May it please Y^r Ex^cie, Lond., Jan. 27th, 167¾.

* * * * *

There seemes to be now a greate propensity towards ye repealing of the Act ag^t Irish Cattle, complaints comeing from all partes of Engld of ye greate mortallity of Sheepe & Cattle, in so much that as soone as the more publique affaires will give leave, some attempts will be made to repeale ye Act of Prohibition.

The Duke of Bucks is become a greate converte, & to give a publique testimonye of it he went wth his owne lady to St. Martin's to Church in ye afternoone on Sunday last. In the mean time his Grace & my Lord Shaftsburye are reconciled, & both labour hard to gett him fairely quitt of my Lady Shrewsburye's businesse, wch is still depending in ye Lords Howse.

CX.—Lord Conway to the Earl of Essex.

May it please Yo^r Excel^cie, London, January 27th, 167¾.

* * * * *

The King's last Speech hath been the subject both of the privat

Digitized by Google

caballs and the Publick debates these two last dayes. Those who thought the French Allyance a Grievance, doe now think a Peace, nay, a seperat Peace, to be the greater grievance,[a] so that one may see they designed only to fetter the King and take their advantages, but though this Party be very prevalent in both Howses, yet I am confident we shall carry the point, and advise the King to make a Peace.

This bone was cast before Parliamt. by advice of Trear., but I think *Arling. broke the French Allyance.*

The Parliam[t], I beleeve, will sit a great while and give money, but with great opposition. They know their owne strengths so well that Mr. Sacheverell told me he was confident they would carry the point of money only by five votes.[b]

The *Caball is kept at Lord Hollis' House, Hallyfax* and *Shafetsbury are of it*, and *Buckingham is got in. Orrery* shewed *Trear.* the copy of a Letter written to *the Deputy Governor of Limmerick by Mr. Godolphin*, wherein he writes, as from *Essex*, that it was *King's intentions to allow secular Priests to say masse publickly*, or to that effect. *Orrery* thought *Arling. was at the bottome of it*, and had given such directions, and would have had it *sifted in Parlimt. Trear.* replyed, that if *such a thing were started in Parliamt. Essex would be torne in pieces*, and desired *Orrery* to write that *he burne the Letter*, and give *no coppies of it.* This I had from *Trear. Orrery* never spoke to me of it, and I told *Trear.* that if such a thing were, it was occasioned by the *Adresse*, and not by *Arlington;* but there ought to be a distinction made in Letters of that nature, betweene passing a thing over by way of Connivance and giving a Publick Liberty, and upon the whole matter you may see that *Trear.* was very friendly to *Essex.*

* * * * *

[a] The Shaftesbury opposition was now in alliance with Louis XIV.

[b] No money was granted.

Digitized by Google

CXI.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, Jan 28, 7¾.

Captain Crofts being just going off, ye news arrived of those transactions wch were in ye House of Cõmons relating to y^r^ Lo^p^, I could not let slip this opportunitie of telling y^r^ Lo^p^ how much I rejoice at ye good success you have there had, & I confess my satisfaction in it is much encreased by what I heare, that some of my neerest friends & relations have had an eminent share in doeing you right upon this occasion. The Times are so nice & difficult that I durs't scarce write such expressions as these by ye ordinary Post, being very confident that some foul play hath bin used, even in ye opening of y^r^ L^ps^ Lr̃es & mine, wch passed betwixt us, & therefore, if there be less of complement in what by ye ordinary way I write to y^r^ Lo^p^ then is usuall, I hope you will not from it judge my affection to ye service, but wth all assurance believe & rely upon me to be ever, &c.

CXII.—Lord Aungier to the Earl of Essex.

May it please yor Ex^cye^, Lond., Jan. 31, 1673.

Since my last there has not been anything of greate moment transacted in ye Howse of Com^ns^, only this day they have voted that the addresse for removeing ye Duke of Lawderdale from all his Employm^ts^ & from His Maties Councills & presence for ever as a person obnoxious & dangerous to ye Govem^t^, should be forthw^th^ made to his Matie in order to wch ye members of ye Privy Councill are directed to acquaint His Matie with it, & to knowe what time His Matie will appoint for ye Speaker wth ye whole Howse to attend him wth ye sayd addresse. Iñediately after this the addresse concerning His Grace of Bucks

Digitized by Google

was proposed, wch begott a debate whether we should not in his case desire the concurrence of ye Lords in reguard he is a Peere, & ye day being farre spent, ye further debate of it was putt of till Thursday next. This morning the Lords alsoe spent upon His Grace's affaire wth my Lady Shrewsburye, in wch His Grace at first made an ingenuous confession, & beg'd pardon of ye Howse, And out of his great generositye & kindnesse to y^t^ noble family desired that all mention of y^t^ affaire should be taken of ye file and razed out of ye Records, wch request of his Grace's being not complyed w^th^, He then retracted his confession, because he has owned more then ye Petitions ag^t^ him could prove, wch begott a debate whether the Howse should accept of his submission or reteine ye cause any longer, wch spunn out their time till two of ye clocke, at wch time they adjourned the further debate of it till Tuesday next. This day, upon a discourse accidentally started concerning a comon Fame that severall Members had receaved Money and Pensions, and y^t^ it was reported a Member should say he hoped to make this Sessions worth him 5000^ld^, The Howse have appoynted a comittee to examine this matter, and to prepare some test for ye members to take & vindicate themselves from this scandalous imputation.

In the Lords House the preservation of ye French allyance was a considerable parte of ye debate concerning ye addresse to be made to His Matie about a peace wth ye States Genll. But it was overruled there as well as in ye Howse of Comons, And I suppose on Tuesday both Howses will agree on ye manner of their Addresse, there haveing beene allready interchangeable messages sent to one another. The newes from Holland is that ye Prince of Orange & his posterity are declared State Holders for ever.

Digitized by Google

CXIII.—The Earl of Essex to Lord Ranelagh.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, Feb. 5, 167⅘.

* * * * *

From severall hands I hear that y^r^ Lo^p^ hath thought fit to lay ye blame of ye nonpaym^t^ of some moneys due to ye Office of ye Ordnance in England upon me, by telling his Matie that ye money was ready, but my Ord^rs^ upon his Maties Lr̃es were wanting to authorise you & ye partners to make paym^t^ thereof, whereas I doe assure y^r^ Lo^p^ these Lr̃es were never delivered. That only wch related to ye Arms & Amunition sent in my Time, indeed, I once saw, but it was not left wth me, & for ye other wch concern'd ye 3000^ld^ to be payd in part for Arms sent in my Lord Robart's Time, it never came to my hands, nor I believe had it now, but that upon notice out of England I made strict enquiry after it, and found it among ye Partners here.

I cannot but tell y^r^ Lo^p^ upon this occasion that I doe abominate all Artifices of this kind,[a] & have just reason to take it very ill at y^r^ hands, that you should endeavour to lay y^r^ owne faults upon me, & make any representations, as if I were negligent of my duty in a matter wherein ye blame is wholly y^r^ owne. If you have any imagination that Practices of this sort will pass upon me, you will finde y^r^ selfe mistaken in y^r^ man, for as I have ever used plain & clear dealing wth all, so where I finde other then ye like, I am not, nor ever shall be, scrupulous of telling them their owne, whoever they are, that endeavor to circumvent me by their subleties. Nevertheless how disobliging soever these y^r^ proceedings have bin, I doe & shall look upon y^r^ undertaking to be a branch of ye King's

[a] On February 17, Ranelagh wrote to Essex utterly denying the charge contained in this letter.

Digitized by Google

business committed to my charge, & as such shall not faile to give it all due and just encouragement, It being my Principle never to suffer his Maties affairs to be prejudiced upon any Acc^t of my owne.

CXIV.—The Earl of Essex to William Harbord.

Mr Harbord, Dublin Castle, Feb. 14th, '7¾.

All men here have great hopes that a bill will pass in England this Sessions to take off that restraint, wch for some years hath bin upon ye importation of Catle ;[a] wch bill, if it should pass, would in some measure prejudice ye proffitts of my place here, for when Catle went free into England I cannot learn that any more then 1500^ld, or at most 2000^ld a year, was ever made for wooll dutys to ye chief Govern^r ; but since this prohibition of Catle that income hath advanced to 4000^ld p Añn; & ye reasons of this Improvem^t are evident, for while ye exportation of Catle from hence into England was free, great numbers of Sheep were sent over, wch payd no duty for ye wooll upon their backs. This in so many thousands, as were carryed, amounted to a reasonable summe; but ye great Improvm^t arose from this cause, that ye importacõn of Catle being prohibited, men changed their methods of Husbandry, from their breeding of great Catle into breeding of Sheep, & this they did because they carryed ye Wooll out, & made money of it in England. Tis also well known how infinitely ye breed of Sheep hath encreased since this prohibition, all w^ch, if ye former Libertie of carrying Catle be allowed, will soon fall agen to its old rate.

I am not willing that a particular concerne of mine should any way hinder a publick good to this Kingdome, & therefore I would not by any means upon such an Acc^t as this obstruct ye bill ; yet

[a] This did not take place.

Digitized by Google

however, in case it should pass, I conceive it may not be amiss for you to represent to his Matie ye damage it would be to me. My Ld Duke of Ormond had 3000^ld a year constant pay upon ye Establishm^t more then ye present Govern^r. This was first taken off when my Lord Robarts came. I am very fully satisfied, & that by experience, that ye revenue belonging to this Place, as now it is, may wth good management maintaine ye Lieu^t in that splendor as is fitt for ye King's Minister to live here; but sure I am this is all it will doe, & therefore if any diminution should happen to ye present Income 'Twill not bee possible for me to uphold ye dignitie of my Employm^t, & at ye same Time keep my selfe from doeing irregular things, or making litle gains unworthy my Place, by selling Offices, etc., all wch I have absolutely resolved never to doe.

* * * * *

CXV.—Lord Aungier to the Earl of Essex.

May it please Y^or Ex^cye, Lond. Feb. 7th, 1673.

* * * * *

Yesterday the Duke of Bucks made a very submissive recantation to ye Howse of Peeres, acknowledging ye miserable & lewd life he had led; And though it was a very heavy burthen to lye under the displeasure of ye Howse & the sence of his transgressions, Yett he had reason to give God thankes for it since it had opened his Eyes & discovered to him the foulenesse of his past life, wch he was resolved for ye future to amend; & haveing added severall other patheticke expressions to testifye ye sincerity of his Repentance, The Howse at last absolved him upon promise never more to converse wth my Lady Shrewesbury; forw^th both His

Digitized by Google

Lord^{p} & my Lady are to enter into bonds each of 10000^{ld}, & a Coñittee of Bpp^{s} appointed to draw up ye condition wth all ye caution & stricktnesse imaginable. I had all most forgott to tell yor Ex^{cy} That ye Howse will once more Addresse to His Matie for ye sending back ye Irish Forces into Irld. My Ld. Arlington's Coñittee have often mett, but have not made one stepp towards an Impeachm^{t}, for wch in y^{e} end they will not find y^{e} least matter y^{t} can be proved.

On Wenesday next the Coñ^{tee} of Greevances sitt againe, by wch severall are all ready allarumed.

CXVI.—Lord Conway to the Earl of Essex.

May it please Yo^{r} Excel^{cie}, London, Febr. 10, 167$\frac{4}{3}$.

* * * * *

I see no appearance that *Parlim^{t} will give money,* and *feare of Duke makes them every day fetter y^{e} Crowne*, so that I think *they will be soone prorogued,* and *Osborne* will make it his business to keep *King within the compass of his revenue*, but if *Scotland resent* the *keeping in of Lodderdale*, and that *the Parliam^{t} takes no notice of it*, that it may be so, *it will breake the measures of our Court.*

* * * * *

Digitized by Google

CXVII.—Lord Conway to the Earl of Essex.

May it Please Y^or Excel^cy, London, February 17, 167⅓.

I should willingly have omitted troubling yor Excel^ce this post, because to-morrow is appointed in both Howses for Irish affaires, with this distinction only, that the Howse of Comons goe upon Irish Grievances, and the Lords upon those heads that may be fit to advise the King for security of the Kingdome, and of the Protestant Religion in it. And though it might be more materiall to let yor Excel^ce know what had been donne in these things, yet I was loath to neglect my duty so long, and the rather because I believe that when *Peace is ratified with Holland,*[a] *Parliam^t will be prorogued, and some months after dissolved by Proclamation. One blow Court party in House of Comons is afraid of, that Holland will insiste upon it to have the Peace ratified by Parliam^t.*

The King of France hath written the most complomentall Letter to the King that ever was seene, lamenting the necessity wch made him forsake his allyance, and assuring him that he retained the greatest confidence in his friendship, and was certaine that nothing but the difficulty of his affaires at home could have made him with draw from that entire union, wch he would still preserve. But our Ambassad^r, Sr Willm Lockart, writes, he never saw such a consternation as was in the French Court upon the news of o^r Peace with the Dutch, and that if he may judge of men by their lookes, they threaten us with the highest revenge. My Lord Treşurer hath given yor Excel^ce another opportunity of writing more fully yor judgement concerning the M^r of the ordnance in Ireland, wch he did by desiring Mr Harbord to write to yor Excel^ce, so as that you may have no occasion to name or take notice of Sr Tho. Chichely or me in it, and I suppose he will write to yor Excel^ce this post. Great

[a] Charles had been compelled to make a separate peace with the Dutch, which was signed at London, Feb. 19, 1674.

Digitized by Google

dissention there is betweene *Treasurer* and *Sir Robt. Howard*,[a] too long to trouble yor Excel^ce with the Particulars. *Keeper* is so much concerned for *Trear.* and the unworthy dealing of *Sir Robt Howard*, that he told me last night he should never rest in quiet till he had gott *Sir R. Howard* turned out of all. I was hindred from writing to yor Excel^ce last post by attending upon Mr Harbord at my Lord Tresurer's, where all yor affaires had a very good despatch, and I shall always neglect every thing in the world when there is any concerne of yor Excel^cies where by I may shew my selfe, &c.

CXVIII.—Lord Herbert to the Earl of Essex.

My Lord, London, Feb. 21, 167¾.

There have bene & are very serious Considerations had about Irland, how to make y^t a peaceable Kingdome, & to make out y^t all disturbances there must arise from ye native Irish, & not from those creatures they would have Fanatickes, y^t is, all ye English y^t fought under Cromwell. Now ye Court begins to beleve as ye Parliament, y^t ye first are onely dangerous, & other very usefull against ye Comon Enemy as long as they have possessions of lands. The King, in order to quiet ye minds of his English subjects here & there, has designed 36 Companies of foote & 4 Troopes of dragoons to march imediately from hence into Irland to fill up y^t Establishment, wch I conceive will be joyfull newse to your Ex^lcy, & when they come over, wch will be as soone as they can be paid here & have good weather for to passe ye Sea, I suppose they will be joyfully received by ye English in Irland. I beseech your Ex^lcy to consider ye County of Kerry, from whence I have noe account of my concernes, because 'tis s^d ye Tories are soe numerous y^t they

[a] He had been a leading member of the opposition in the early days of the Parliament, but had now "ratted" to the Court.

Digitized by Google

hinder all comerce twixt ye County of Corke & y^t^ place. I understand from my Ld Orrery y^t^ hee purposes to move y^t^ 2 or 3 companies of foot & one Troop of horse or dragoones should be quartered in y^t^ county for ye safety of it, & y^t^ Rosse Castle ought to be garrison'd, being ye onely Teneble place in ye county & fittest for a few to guard a good Magazine. Your Exelency knowes I moved this to you my selfe ere I left Irland, & withall to desire your care for Sir Valentine Browne, whose house it is, y^t^ hee may have a good rent for it; wch Garrison & force in y^t^ country with ye country Militia, wch is forthwith to be array'd & put in order, will be sufficient for a good Governor to undertake ye safety of y^t^ quarter. If your Excelency will give mee ye encouragement of a Troop of horse & some proper Stipend for ye Governour, as it has bene in former times, as I am informed by ye Carewes who have governed there, I should take it for an honorable imploy & a convenience to doe my selfe some good. If your Excelency purpose any such thing, I pray signify your pleasure in one word to my cosen Badurda, who will conveigh it to mee. I begge your Excelency's pardon for this boldnesse, but as I was sufficiently ashamed to be soe often in Irland without comand, soe would it be more shame to now that I know Irland suites best with my occasions. Wee are very vigerous in asserting our Religion, & find little assistance from those we might most justly expect it from (ye Lawne Sleeves); but all these things you heare from better hands, soe y^t^ I begge your Excelency's pardon for taking up your time with such rudnesse.

CXIX.—The Earl of Orrery to the Earl of Essex.[a]

My Lord, Warwick Howse, ye 21st of Feb. 1673.

Yesterday the Howse of Com^s^ was Resolved into a Com^tee^ of ye whole Howse to consider Ireland. After som Discourses at large,

[a] This letter fills a gap in the Parliamentary history.

Digitized by Google

my Ld Abricon[a] charged my Ld Ranelagh by name for haveinge Put ye Ld Augier out of his office, for haveinge Ingrost ye whole Revenue, & for som mismannedgments in it, &c, I stood up & moved, y^t^ what had bin confusedly deliver'd might be Reduced into Forme, & y^t^ a Com^tee^ might be Apointed to search y^t^ business to ye bottom; That if my Ld Ranelagh were unjustly accused, he might have Reparation, if justly, to be punished accordinge to law. The whole business of ye Revenue of Ireland was at last Referd to a Com^tee^, but was my Ld Rane^h^ soe much as named in ye Reference. Only my Ld Augier said he could not give a Relation how he was outed of his Patent, without his Maj^ty^s leave, w^h^ he would humbly beg, & then he would declare it. My Ld Ranelagh has begd of ye Kinge to giue him leave, & ye Kinge him selfe told me this morninge he had given him leave, Addinge, that ye Ld Augier had better have left that business alone. M^r^. Speaker, in a long & Ex^t^ discourse, did open ye business for Thorrby, y^t^ it was much damped in ye howse. When ye howse Rose, my Ld Abrican came to me & ingeniously acknowledged to me, that my Ld Augier ye night before came to him, & to my Ld Candish,[b] & desyred them both to call him up to That Point, & he would Tell severall things of Importance, but when it came to ye Push, he flinched; at wch ye Ld Abrican gave him aprobrious names; but this is only for yor Lop, That you may ye better know how this little affare was mannedged. After this Thinge was over, we had many Debates concerninge Ireland. The Result of all (about Two a Clock) was thes 2 votes Inclosed. The howse divided on thes words in ye last vote, viz. [with their opinions to ye howse how ye same may be best served], but it was carryed in ye affirmative, And Munday, ye 23^d^ Instant is appointed for ye Com^tee^ to sit.

I had this morninge ye honour to be alone with his Maj^ty^ neere an houre. Your Ex^cie^ will now have hastened over to me 34 foot Companys & 4 Troops of Prince Rupert's Dragoons, my Ld Bucking-

[a] Abercorne. [b] Cavendish.

Digitized by Google

ham's entire Reg^{t}, ye Ld Tirone's entire Reg^{t}, 5 companyes of ye Ld Witherington's Reg^{t}, & one Loos Company, wch will make up ye 70 Companyes of ye Irish Establish^{t} with ye 33 now ther. Y^{e} Kinge Assured me they should be hastened to yor Ex^{ce}.

I had almost for-gott to tell yor Ex^{ce} y^{t} severall leading men of our howse desyred often I might give an accounte of ye state of Ireland, &c. But I desyred it might be rather refered to a Com^{tee}, wher it might be more fittly concider'd & digested.

The Ratification of ye Peace was not com to his Maj^{te} this morninge at Aleaven of ye clock, but He hourely Expected it, & he told me when Sr G. Silviers landed in Holland with ye newse of ye Peace ther was neaver such joy Expreat; Bon fires & beinge Drunke were but two of ye lest signes of it. I have Ground to beleeve, as soone as the Ratification of ye Peace coms, His Maj^{ty} will set a day for ye endinge of this Sessions, y^{t} we may make into bills what hitherto we have discoursed of & debated.

The Lds are this day also on ye affaires of Ireland.

My Ld Shaftsbury did me ye honour y^{e} other day to give me a visit, & amonge other discourses he assured me he was convinced he had bin misinformed in many things touchinge Ireland, but y^{t} now he was of my opinion.

* * * * *

CXX.—Lord Conway to the Earl of Essex.

May it please Yo^{r} Excel^{cy}, London, Febr. 24, 167$\frac{4}{5}$.

I need not use many words in acquainting Yo^{r} Excel^{ce} with the surprise wch all men have had at the Prorogation of the Parliam^{t} this morning to the 10th of Novemb^{r} next. I shall only say, that all o^{r} great men have taken occasion to professe publickly they knew

Digitized by Google

nothing of it. I never saw such a consternation as was among the members of both Houses; every man amased and reproching one another that they had sat so long upon Eggs and could hatch nothing. I have now obeyed Yo^r^ Excel^cies^ comands in my continuance heere during the Session of Parliam^t^, and in giving Yo^r^ Excel^ce^ the best account I could of their transactions, but I have many reasons to believe they were not serviceable to you, my abilityes to performe this being much lesse then my affections. The season of the yeare drawing on, I thinke to goe shortly into Warwickshire to drink Birchwater, and from thence Yo^r^ Excel^ce^ may dispose of me where you please. For it is my ambition and desire to be serviceable to you; but if I cannot be so happy as to attaine it, I shall then only look after my owne little affaires. 'Tis true that now there will be a new Game play'd at Court, and the designes and Interests of all men will be different from what they were, and of this I beleeve in a few days I shall be able to give Yo^r^ Excel^ce^ some information, for in all things to the utmost of my power I shall endeavour to give Yo^r^ Excel^ce^ assurance of my being, &c.

CXXI.—Lord Conway to the Earl of Essex.

May it please Yo^r^ Excel^cy^, London, Febr. 28, 167⅘.

My last of the 24th gave yor Excel^ce^ an account of the Prorogation of the Parliam^t^. We were all surprised and in a hurry, so that I could not finde out the bottome of that affaire, and now, although I beleeve I know as much of it as most men, yet I dare not comit it to Paper, but when I have the honor to wait upon Yo^r^ Excel^ce^ I shall acquaint you with it.

The Ratification of the Peace arrived heere last night; it is already Proclaimed in Holland, and this morning his Matie Sumond a Councell in order to the Proclaming it heere.

Digitized by Google

Since the Prorogation, his Matie hath receaved at least ten Letters in a disguised hand and without any name, giving him information that there were attempts designed upon his Person, and advising him to be carefull of himselfe, and particularly on the 27 Febr., wch I thanke God is past without any danger to him. The whole businesse is thought to be a trick, and it is above me to know what to say to it.

The Court seemes to have no other Interest but in contracting of expenses. They will discountenance Papists, make the late violent men Sheriffs, and call a new Parliamt. when King hath not immediate want. King says, He had rather be a poore King then no King. Presbyterians will be most prevalent in the next Parliam^t. It is also designed, before they meet, to have a Treaty of Marriage on foot between Prince of Orange and Duke of York's daughter.[a]

* * * * *

CXXII.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, March 17, 7¾.

I doe acknowledge y^r receipt of two of y^r L^ps of ye 2^d & 3^d of March. That of ye latter date, among other things, recom̃ends to me one M^r. Morrice, for ye paym^t of 300^ld to him. Y^r L^p fully understands y^t ye King's revenue is now out of his Majesties hands,[b]

[a] On March 3, Ormond wrote that the prorogation was not known, nor who counselled it. On the 7th Aungier reported that Buckingham received 6000*l.* for his place as gentleman of the bedchamber, 4000*l.* for the mastership of the horse out of the Irish establishment, and 1500*l.* a-year for life. On the 10th William Temple wrote that "The Duke is fixt and has great power." On March 20th Conway is appointed Lieut.-Gen. of Horse in Ireland. On the 21st Orrery warns Essex against believing the reports of a dissolution, and on the 25th Harbord reports Danby's intention of managing without a Parliament.

[b] Since it was farmed by Ranelagh.

Digitized by Google

& there is nothing here but ye Concordation Moneys in ye Lieuts dispose, wch are so very narrow as I cannot wth them answer even ye necessary charges of ye Goverment. The King's Houses ought to be repair'd, but I found them in such ruine, as even this Castle it selfe would require more to putt it into reasonable Ordr then ye clear Income of them (ye constant yearly paymts of these Concordations being deducted) would for some years amount to; besides, I hope yr Lp will be pleased to consider yt, if at any Time I exceed ye summe allotted upon this fund, I am by ye Rules of ye Establishment to repay it out of my owne purse, so as in Truth I doe not know what course to take for this Gentleman's satisfaction.

By ye last Packett I desired Mr. Harbord to acquaint yr Lp yt I began very much to apprehend a failure in my Lord Ranelagh & his Partners, ye symptomes whereof doe still encrease, for I find them very backward & shufling in all their Paymts, & indeed I can scarce walke through ye Gallery here but I meet wth some or other attending to complaine of them. The Army are not yet answer'd their last Quarter's pay; Sr Thomas Chicheley's three thousand pds, one thousand of wch, by his Majestie's Lre of ye 14th of July last, ought to have bin pay'd out of ye Quarters Rent at Midsumer, another thousand out of ye Quartr's Rent at Michalms, & ye other thousand out of ye Quarter's Rent at Christmass, is by them disputed, alleaging that by their Contract they are not lyable to make paymt of any of this money till ye expiration of their Terme. There are also divers other paymts, wch I could instance, wherein they have not yielded such complyance as I conceive they ought; but that wch troubles me most is to see them come so heavily off in discharging ye Twelvemonths Arrear due to ye Army, ye paymt of wch ought to have begun at Christmass last was twelvemonth, & from that Time forward to have clear'd at Every Quarter one month of these Arrears. I have favoured them so far as to respit it till this last Christmass (at wch Time four months were payable), upon promise then or about that Time they would pay two months downe, & about Feb. or March two months more, but unless it be to eight Troops of

Digitized by Google

Horse or thereabout, to whom they have given Assignm^ts to receive ye money in ye country, none of this is answered. The Army, for ought I can find, are obedient enough to my commands, but I fear there is a great share of discontent among them for want of their growing pay, & a despair of their Arrears; petition they dare not (nor indeed in a matter of this nature is it fitt they should), well remembring in what manner many of ye Officers were dealt wth for representing their case in my Ld Berkeley's Time, & therefore I esteem it a duty so much ye more incumbent upon me early to explain this their condition to his Majestie, who only can redress it.

Of all ye parts I have to serve his Maẗie in ye Employm^t where I am, I know not any of more difficultie then this how to behave my selfe towards my Ld Ranelagh & his Partn^rs. For on ye one hand, if I too hastily represent their Undertaking as breaking, I shall, should they happen to continue, both raise great enemies to my selfe & also incurr much discreditt by being found in ye wrong. Agen, if I be too late in giving notice of their failure, It may be much to his Maẗies disservice, & my selfe may be exposed to censure, for want of circumspection in his Majesties Affairs. Whereas, indeed, 'Tis impossible for any man to have a true prospect of what will become of their Undertaking. And ye reason is this: They are accountable to none for their Receipts, & much of ye money being collected by Officers of their owne & putt out of ye course of ye Exchequ^r, none can devine what summs they have in their hands. The best conjecture then that can be given of their abilities to performe must be collected by being watchfull how they keep touch in their Paym^ts, wherein observing at this time a more then ordinary faltering, I think I can doe no less then comunicate it to y^r L^p, that so his Maẗie may know my apprehensions of ye maine. To wch this also may further be added, y^t now above three years of ye five of their Undertaking are expired, & 'Tis probable y^t most of ye solvent Arrears are already gather'd, wch Arrears were intended to answer ye Debts, & I doe not finde that any considerable part of these debts are yet clear'd. How is it possible then for any reasoning man to

Digitized by Google

be other then apprehensive of their failure, since I see so litle advances in ye discharge of their debt undertaking, now more then halfe their Time is spent, & probably (as hath already bin said) all most all ye solvent money of extraordinarys is by this Time collected.

I know my Lord Ranelagh will object y^t^ ye Farm^rs^ are short in their Paym^ts^ to him, but having enquired into that matter I doe not perceive that of this Quarter there is above nine or ten thousand pds, or very neer there abouts, due to them, wch tho' I acknowledge this too great a summ for ye Farm^rs^ so long to deteine, yet ye Excuse of these Farm^rs^ is (wch we must all allow to be true), that ye weather hath of late bin so very bad as their Collect^rs^ could not travaile to gette ye money together; yet, however, they will not faile to answer ye whole within ten days' Time, & this they have engaged to doe, tho' they borrow ye money. All wch when performed will not, I am confident, more then answer (nay, I wish it will answer) ye large bills drawn out of England upon ye Com^rs^ of ye Treãry, so as I doe not see how their condition will be at all amended when these moneys are payd, nor they enabled to goe through wth ye great debt they have Undertaken. The Acc^t^ between ye Com^rs^ & Farm^rs^ to Midsum̃er last is stated & passed in ye Excheq^r^, & my Ld Chief Baron tells me (for I have not yet perused ye Acc^t^ it selfe) y^t^ ye Farm^rs^ are found to have overpayd twelve hund pds. Thus much I thought fitt to adde, because I fear there is none in England to represent ye case, & all may be taken for granted that my Ld Ranelagh shall assert.

When M^r^. Harbord went over, I instructed him y^t^, in case my Ld Ranelagh's Undertaking should be questioned in ye House of Com̃ons there, He should be ready to speake favourably of it, & to give my sense therein to this effect, That however this method of ye revenue might seem to be a diminution to ye powr of ye Lieu^t^, & (to such who had conscience large enough to reap irregular advantages) a lessening to his profitt, yet I was fully of Opinion y^t^ if these men went through wth their business, ye Undertaking would be much to

Digitized by Google

ye King's service, both in regard it would clear him of a great debt & reduce ye receipt of ye publick mony into a good method for ye future. That these men were so dextrous & industrious in their way, as they would bring in many summs impossible to have bin collected, had this, as formerly, bin under ye charge of ye Lieu^t^. That I did not look upon their project to be so wild a Thing as many men imagined. That this War hath bin a great hindrance to them, & in case they should break, I could not but attribute ye hastning at least, if not ye reason, of this their failure, in a great measure to this misfortune. All w^ch^, as I am told, M^r^. Harbord hath performed there, not a litle to ye creditt & advantage of these Undertakers. This I did, both because I was unwilling for his Majesties sake y^t^ this business should be too far looked into by ye House of Coñons, but chiefly in complyance to ye Coñands I reĉd from his Mañie when I left England, that I should by no means be wanting on my part to countenance & support this Affaire, & as I have not failed in giving ye utmost of my assistance towards it hitherto, so neither can I answer it in duty to him I serve, if I should not truly acquaint his Mañie wth ye apprehensions I have of them.

* * * * *

Since I writt this Lr̃e, I also find ye Farm^rs^ are in Arrear four thousand pd̃s upon ye Customs.

CXXIII.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, March 20th, 7¾.

The Unquiet Temper, wherein you have bin during ye last Sessions of Parliam^t^ in England, hath not wanted its influences here, for in this Citty (wch seemed before reasonably well disposed

Digitized by Google

& quiet under ye Rules that were established by my selfe & Councell) several of their factious & troublesome men, encouraged as I believe by ye forwardness of ye House of Coñons to harken unto any complaints, began to stir agen, & were making a party to represent their grievances (as they call them) to ye House of Coñons. The principall thing they then fixed upon in their litle Caballs[a] was ag^t^ that Rule of admitting others as well as Protestants to a freedome of Trade here. This they thought would be a gratefull complaint to those to whom they intended their Adress, but after y^t^ ye Parlm^t^ was prorogued, having gain'd a good number to their party, they chang'd their course & designed ye making their application to his Maẗie. Soe far had these men prevailed among ye Citizens, y^t^ divers petitions have bin exhibited to my Ld Mayor from severall of ye Corporacions, a Copy of one of them is here enclosed (in substance they being all ye same), by wch you will see their intention was to apply to his Maẗie for vacating ye Rules. The whole number of ye Corporacions are twenty, of wch five had petitioned, and a Coñittee of ye Citty did meet on Tuesday last upon these Petitions, &, as I hear, many of them, in a most tumultuous manner, clamord out for a generall Assembly to be called on Fryday; afterward five more Corporacions came in & petitioned. Upon notice of this, I thought it was full Time for me to interpose, & truly I conceive Petitions from great numbers of men in any Goverm^t^ are of dangerous consequence, & can only tend to ye disturbance of it. But especially as this case stands, I apprehended it more particularly my duty to shield his Maẗie from such complaints, for should they be permitted to exhibite the intended Petition, his Maẗie, if he denied their request, would take upon himselfe ye disobligac̃on, wch I think is much fitter, if it should raise any ill will, to have it rest upon me, his Minister, then himselfe, & if his Maẗie should graciously please to grant their Adress, He would then (ye Rules being, by ye express words of ye Act, made as good

[a] Essex had been uniformly indulgent to the Catholics. On Feb. 21 he wrote to Harbord stating that he had refused to disarm them.

Digitized by Google

& effectuall, to all intents and purposes, as if ye same had bin specially & particularly established by authoritie of that present Parlim^t^) by his owne powr vacate a Clause in this Law; & how this would be resented & sound at ye meeting of ye Parlm^t^ in England, Y^r^ L^p^, who was an Eye Witness of ye Exceptions taken ag^t^ ye Comittee of Inspection in ye late Sessions of Parlm^t^, only upon suspicion that that Comiss^n^ was intended to infringe this Act, can best judge. Besides, should these Rules come to a particular debate, that Clause of them of admitting as well others as Protestants into Corporacions would be discused, & then it would appear that ye word (Others) was inserted by his Maĩe's particular directions. All wch I fear would be an occasion of breeding no good bloud among ye people of England, so as Take it either way, whether his Maĩe granteth or refuseth their Adress, it could not, in my humble opinion, prove other then inconvenient to him; nay, perhaps 'twas so designed by ye Promoters of these pẽtions.

For these reasons, therefore, it seemed best to me to stay ye progress of this matter, at least in ye way it was now sett on foot. And to this end I this day sent for ye Ld Mayor, Aldermen, & Masters of ye severall Corporacions, & spake to them, as is express'd in the enclosed paper, wherein y^r^ L^p^ will finde I have not alltogether precluded them of all manner of application.

I am very apt to believe y^t^ some of these men have encouragem^t^ out of England, & have more then probability to suspect y^t^ my Lord Privy Seale[a] doth underhand animate them; a litle time will shew us what Temper they will be in, & in case they should persist in their former practices, ye persons who are ye principall movers, being not above three or four, I desire to know whether his Maĩe would be willing I should send them over into England to answer their faults at ye Councell board there, for I am confid^t^, were they putt to ye charge of a journey & some attendance, & returned but wth a reprooff, they being poor men, it would quiett all for ever after. This I shall not doe without necessitie inforceth me, & in y^e^

[a] Anglesea.

Digitized by Google

mean Time I shall be glad of an intimation how his Majestie would like such a course, as also how he approves of what I have done hitherto.

From Sligo I hear y^t^ Francis Bodkin is convict & condemned for Pyracy, ye evidence being very full & clear ag^t^ him; ye Com^rs^ are there proceeding ag^t^ others of his Accomplices.

That wch I writt to y^r^ L^p^ in mine of ye 17th, concerning my Ld Ranelagh's Undertaking, is not at all intended either to disparage it or bring any discreditt upon the undertakers, but only truly to represent ye case to his Maẗie as I finde it here. His L^p^ residing at London, & being alwaies neer ye Court, hath ye opportunitie to urge ye slackness of paym^ts^ on ye Farm^rs^ part, & to procure Lr̃es to press them to a more speedy performance, all wch I conceive doth not a litle further his Majesties business; but there being none except my selfe to observe his & his partner's failings, who indeed require some quickning, I have taken upon me in that Lr̃e to make known their present state, wth my conjectures thereupon, y^t^ his Maẗie being thus informed may give such Orders in relation to this Affair as his Maẗie shall thinke fitt.

CXXIV.—Speech of the Earl of Essex to the City Council of Dublin.

March 20th, 167¾.

I hear y^t^ Petitions have bin lately proferr'd by some of ye Corporac̃ons of ye Citty to ye Ld Mayor to have Liberty to petition ag^t^ ye Rules wch have bin established for regulating this Corporac̃on. Copies of ye Petitions themselves have bin scattered up & downe in severall mens' hands, & read at Coffee houses, by wch means I came to be informed of them.

'Tis well known that these Rules were made by virtue & Powr given by Act of Parliam^t^ to ye Lieu^t^ & Councell, & that they are now by virtue of that Act of ye same force as an Act of Parliam^t^.

Digitized by Google

It may not perhaps be taken notice of what sort of offence it is for many persons to meet together, & joyne in framing or preserving Petitions to have any of ye Constitutions of this Realme either altered or repealed, especially at such a Time when there is no Parliam^t^ sitting, by whom such alterations or Repeales may be made.

It ought likewise to be considered by all his Maïie good subjects ag^t^ what Acts this Complaint tllis directed, I mean ye Acts comonly called ye Acts of Settlem^t^, ye basis & foundation of ye quiett & peace of this Kingdome, & wch his Maïie hath very lately, by a publick proclamation, declared most inviolably to observe. Now if these Acts should be broken in one part, why not in another? If Petitions should be preferred ag^t^ these Rules, wch are confirmed by one Clause of them, why may not all these persons, who have lost their Estates or suffered any prejudice by these Acts, take ye like course (nay, are they not even by y^r^ example encouraged?) to gather hands to petition to be restored agen to their lands, wch have bin thus disposed to others? And to have such dispositions as have bin made by these Acts alter'd, of how dangerous a consequence this will be every man may easily judge.

Such Petitions can only serve to manifest ye factious & seditious spiritts of those who promote them to raise Tumults & disorders in ye Citty & discontent ag^t^ his Maïies goverm^t^, by whose Authoritie these Rules established. Therefore, It is not to be suffered y^t^ an Assembly of this Citty should meet to any such purpose, or should joyne in any such Petition, not being consistent wth ye duty they owe to his Majestie, or wth ye quiet & repose of ye Citty.

I doe for these reasons expect from you, my Ld Mayor, ye brethren, ye Aldermen, & all other ye good & Loyall Citizens of this Citty, that you suffer not any further proceedings hereupon, & that you doe not permit any meetings to frame such like Petitions. And I doe declare, y^t^ if any hereafter shall endeavour to promote them, I shall look upon them as persons designing some disturbance to ye Goverm^t^, & they shall be proceeded ag^t^ & punished accordingly as ye nature of such a Crime does deserve.

Digitized by Google

Sufficiently sensible I am y^t^ this Citty hath ever bin famous for their Loyaltie to his Maẗie, & for ye respect they have shewn to those who have by his Maẗie bin placed in ye govem^t^ of this Kingdome, nor is it to be doubted but they have ye same affections still & will not doe any thing that may give occasion to alter y^t^ opinion wch hath bin held of them. I conceive there ought to be a particular regard had to ye welfare of ye Citty, & none shall be more ready then my selfe, upon all opportunities, to doe any thing (consistent wth his Maẗies service) that may tend to ye promoting ye happiness of you, or removing any inconveniencies from you.

These Rules were designed for ye benefitt of ye Citty for ye advancem^t^ of ye Trade thereof, & for ye encouragem^t^ of more Traders to come & setle here. However, if there be any thing in them that doth not answer these good ends, & that upon experience it is found that these Rules, or any part of them, are really prejudiciall to ye Citty, or ye good Goverm^t^ of ye same, some few particular may meet together as private men, & may, without any Petition, reduce those matters into writing wch they apprehend to be of any publick prejudice or disadvantage, wth ye grounds of their exceptions to them, & when these shall be so offered to me, such an Answer shall be given thereunto as by reasonable men may be expected.

CXXV.—To the R^t^ Honble Jo: Allen, Esqr., Lord Mayor of ye Citty of Dublin.

The Humble Petition of ye Masters, Wardens, & Brethren of ye Holy Trinity Guild.

Sheweth,

That whereas his Ex^cie^ ye Ld Lieu^t^ & Councell of this Kingdome have lately made severall Rules, Ord^rs^, & directions, as their L^ps^ conceived for ye better regulating of this Citty of Dublin & ye severall respective Guilds & Corporac̃ons therein, & ye electing of

Digitized by Google

Officers & Magistrates there, & forasmuch as y^r Pet^rs doe humbly conceive y^t ye s^d Rules, Ord^rs, etc., are inconsistent w^th & destructive to ye many Chartres & priviledges granted to this Citty, & to ye severall Guilds & Corporac̃ons therein, by his sacred Mat̃ie that now is & his Royal Predecess^rs, under wch they have bin alwaies Loyall & prosperous, his Ex^cie & Councell (as is humbly conceived), not being fully informed, have established ye s^d Rules, Ord^rs, & directions for ever, notwithstanding any Charter or Charters, to ye great discouragem^t of this auntient & Loyall Citty.

Y^r Pet^rs therefore humbly pray y^r L^p forthwith to call an Assembly for making humble application to his Ex^cie for leave to petition to his most sacred Mat̃ie, y^t He would graciously please to restore ye Mayor, Sheriffs, Com̃ons, & Citizens of this Citty to their auntient priviledges & Imunities, or if y^r L^p thinks it not fitt to call an Assembly for that purpose, y^t then y^r L^p will not ill resent it if this Corporac̃on doe make their humble Address to ye ends aforesaid.

And y^r Pet^rs.

CXXVI.—The Earl of Essex to W. Harbord.

M^R. Harbord, Dublin Castle, March 21, 167¾.

I have by these Packetts written at large to my Lord of Arlington concerning ye unquiet motions wch have of late bin in this Citty, together wth an Act of my proceedings thereupon; some few particulars I think convenient to adde, wch I desire you to comunicate to my Lord of Arlington, for I am sure ye representing Truth, & ye whole Truth, is both ye best for his Mat̃ies affairs, & likewise ye safest course for me to pursue. I have acquainted his L^p wth ye number of those Corporac̃ons who petitioned ye Lord Mayor to have libertie to make application to me to grant them leave to adress to

Digitized by Google

his Matie for vacating ye Rules. Since ye writing of that Lre, I recd this paper enclosed, wch names ye severall Corporacons who thus petitioned, together wth ye dates when they presented them, wherein 'Tis observable that these Petitions came in by some litle Intervalls of Time one after another, & ye one halfe of them after ye meeting of that Comittee wch seemed not to disallow of these Petitions. I have made some enquiry this day what effect my speech had among them, & doe finde yt they are accusing one another of their goeing up & downe & persuading men to engage in this business, & many of them doe owne that they had not done it, but upon ye vehement importunitie of some others. The number of ye Corporacons who first & last brought in these petitions are ten, being just halfe of ye full number of all in this Citty, but then I must tell you yt ye Corporacon of Trinity Guild [a] is more considerable then any other four of ye Corporacons, so as I look upon it that by much ye major part of ye Corporacons have appear'd in this Affair, & 'Tis not strange that so many men are drawn into these practices when four or five men, Sr John Tottie, Mr. Philpot, etc., have made it their whole business, ever since ye first beginning of this late Sessions of Parliamt in England, to incite ye Citizens to these disturbances. These have bin observed never to be in their Shops, but all day long at Taverns or Coffee houses, perpetually sending about for severall Citizens, persuading them to further and promote these seditious designes, wch prime movers are men of small Estates, & no doubt their Aime was to have bin employed as Agents in England, thereby to have gott some collection of money from ye Citty, as a litle before my coming one Nevill (an unworthy Instrumt of Sr Ellis Leighton's) did, when ye matter of turning out ye Recordr & eight of ye Aldermen was under consideration. Upon yc whole I make no doubt but that, if his Majestie please to stand by me, I shall reduce them to a complyance.

A late Mutiny concerning ye building of a bridge here (since wch indeed they have never bin in perfect Ordr) could not be suppress'd

[a] *See* last document.

Digitized by Google

but by force, some companys of ye Guard being comanded together to quiet ye Tumult, where severall men lost their Lives. And Truly in all these cases I conceive 'Tis best narrowly to watch ye beginnings of them, however not to overvalue ye discontented people of this Citty, his Majestie may rely upon it y^t^ they are not able (his Army being in so good a posture) to doe any harme, unless it be to themselves. Nevertheless I shall be glad to know his Matie's pleasure, w^ch^, whether as a publick minister or a private person, shall ever be a guide to my Actings in Ord^r^ to his service.

There are some Things of moment wch I would gladly have dispatched before you leave London. I hope within one post or two to send you full Instructions concerning them, & therefore I desire you will not beginne y^r^ journey till you hear agen from me.

Before you leave England, I would have you take some Time to speake wth ye King alone, & take his Matie's directions what he would have me doe in relation to ye banishing Priests & Friers here. I finde they will not goe unless they be absolutely taken up & forced away. I am also fully assured there can be no danger or discontent arise by sending them away, provided ye Parish Priests are indulged, for ye Friers & ye others exercising Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction are a burthen & charge to those of y^t^ Religion, & I am confident ye being freed from them will be much to their satisfaction, for indeed they have almost beggar'd them. However, I should be glad to have some private directions to guide my proceedings in this particular.

Digitized by Google

CXXVII.—Names of ye Corporacons who brought in Petitions to ye Lord Mayor, etc.

Feb. 15th, 1673.	The Trinity Guild, not signed, but brought in by—	Sr John Totty, Kn^t^, Natha: Philpott,	Masters.
		Willm Gressingham, William Eager,	Wardens.
March 4th	The Corporacõn of Taylors,	Matthew Nulty,	Master.
		Willm Crawford, John Kennedy,	Wardens.
March 5th	The Corporacõn of Glovers, signed,	Willm Wemersley,	Master.
		Willm Miles, Willm Metcalfe,	Wardens.
March 5th	The Corporacõn of Brick Layers, not signed.	Forster,	Master.
March 16th	The Corporacõn of Smiths,	Nich: Banks,	Master.
		Borland, George,	Wardens.
March 16th	The Corporacõn of Painters & Stayners, not signed.		
March 19th	The Corporacõn of Sheermen, signed & brought by—	Willm Lingar,	Master.
		John Prue, James Carr,	Wardens.
March 19th	The Corporacõn of Shoemakers under their Seale.		
March 19th	The Corporacõn of Weavers, signed.	John Walker,	Master.
		Tho: Mitchell, Daniell,	Wardens.
March 19th	The Corporacõn of Goldsmiths, under their seale.	Richard Long,	Master.

Digitized by Google

CXXVIII.—William Harbord to the Earl of Essex.

May it please Y^R^ Excellency, 24 March, 1673.

I gave you an Account by the last post at large of what I had donne in pursuance of y^r^ Directions, since wch yesterday, after ye King's Dinner, I went with my Lord Arlington to reade y^r^ Excellencie's Report to his Ma^ty^ about ye Mills of Kilmanham, who was pleased to heare it wth patience & Attention, saying y^t^ he had now gratifyed Sr Maurice[a] by hearing what were his pretension, but y^t^ you should now goe on to Recover his Right by Lawe, & bid my Ld Arlington & my self signifye his pleasure to y^r^ Excellency accordingly; his Ma^ty^ was very well satisfyed wth ye Account you had given, & said my L^d^ of Essex is a man y^t^ may be believed blindfold; whereupon I tooke ye liberty to saye, y^t^ I was extreamly glade to finde his Ma^ty^ satisfied wth ye Goverment; he answered, not only satisfyed, but abundantly satisfyed. I further told his Ma^ty^, that ye Voyce of ye Towne was y^t^ you were to be Recalled; his answer was, y^t^ they wch said so were Rogues, & bid me Laye a Wager of it, & y^t^ he would goe my halves.

* * * * *

CXXIX.—William Harbord to the Earl of Essex.

May it please Y^R^ Excellency, 28 March, 74.

I receaved yesterday y^rs^ of ye 11th instant, & according to y^r^ Excellencie's Directions I have comunicated ye Contents of it to Sr Henry Capell, & wth him discoursed ye same wth my Ld Arlington,

[a] Sir Maurice Eustace, formerly Lord Chancellor.

Digitized by Google

who gave me a sight of those 2 y^r^ Excellency wr^i^tt to him upon the undertaking & ye seditious petition. I gave you my weake opinion by ye last post as to y^r^ proceeding upon ye first, & how cautiously y^t^ matter is to be handled; but I finde my Lord Arlington resolved to show y^r^ Letter upon y^t^ subject to his Ma^ty^ by ye very first opportunity, so y^t^ you will quickly finde what Impression y^r^ thoughts make upon his Ma^ty^ thereupon. I can not well judge, I confess, of any thing *Ranelagh* saith, finding him a very bold affirmer of things & as forward to sweare as to speake of y^m^; but I know 'tis his Interest to keepe *Essex* in his place, & I feare that *Ormond* is not of y^t^ minde as to his particular, nor 82,[a] who is Extreamly Sick of ye Gout & not out of great danger, as likewise is *Treasurer*, I can not tell whether ye latter will dye; but he will not last long, labouring under greater difficulties then I feare he will ever master. The other day, discoursing w^th^ *Ranelagh* upon ye generall opinion how unable he would be to goe through wth his undertaking, he said y^t^ by his Ma^te's^ orders he could quickly discharge himself, & if . . . . would dispose of ye money any way 'twas all one to him, & y^t^ he could produce orders for what he had donne, & prayed you to dispatch his account, & y^t^ if he thought himself in any danger he could quickly gett himself d charged. Pray saye nothing of this, for I make good use of these things here to doe you service, I assure y^r^ Excellency, & I hope y^r^ Excellency wilbe no looser by my being here. The other day, walking in ye Mall wth King y^t^ I might discover whether *Ormond* was tampering, wth ye assistance of *Duke*, to give *Essex* his place, being informed that *Carlingford* had bin *imploy'd* to Duke for y^t^ purpose, I asked *King* whether it was pleasing to him ye removeing of ye Troops; he said Yea. I asked him whether he thought it not best to remove some of ye Companies of ye guards upon duty to ye Frontiers of ye Irish? He said Yeas, by all means, for y^t^ he heard many of y^m^ were Tapsters, Hostlers, & Shopkeepers, wch would be easily seen. Then I proposed to him ye Removing 4 Companies at first, wch he Exceedingly aproved off, & bid me tell you so. I had

[a] Orrery.

Digitized by Google

some particular reasons for this, wch I will give you at my comming over, & by divers other discourses of y^t kinde I finde that King will never heare of *Ormond's* his pretensions y^t way.

I have by ye Tuesday post to give y^r Excellency an Answer about ye Friars, &c., & if not y^t day by ye next of ye other affaires, & to see ye promoters of y^t petition put into y^r Hands y^r owne way after a long & chargeable journey.

I will not stirr till I receave y^r leave for y^t purpose, but most readely doe you all ye service in my power, either here or there.

Sr Maurice Eustace hath been wth me, & desires y^r Excellency not to take any ill Impression of him, but y^t he willingly will submitt ye Mills to you; however, I advise y^r Excellency to goe on & Seize y^m into his Maties hands. *Arlington* had a Cruel dispute w^th *Anglesey* yesterday, & told him y^t he was a Knave, wch is too true. His Ma^ty went this day to Hampton Court, & Returns to night. Next Thursday he intends to Newmarkett for 20 dayes, & Ld Arlington promiseth to give his resolution about ye petitioners before his departure. I dout not but y^t his Ma^ty will stick to y^r Excellency[a] & bring y^m to reason, to their shame. This is all at present from, &c.

CXXX.—Charles R. to the Earl of Essex.

Charles R.

Right Trusty and Right Welbeloved Cousin and Councellour, Wee greet you well. Whereas Wee have been informed of certaine disorders fomenting in Our Citty of Dublin to create disturbances upon ye account of ye late Rules for regulating that and the other

[a] Confirmed by letter from Arlington, of March 31.

Digitized by Google

Corporations of Our Kingdome of Ireland. And Whereas the procuring of hands to a Petition against a Law is in it self an Act of Sedition, especially when prepared to be addressed to such a Power as cannot change the Law, though never soe greivous. Wee having takén the same into Our consideration, and that the said Rules, as farre as wee can take notice of them, are extreamely usefull to Government in many respects, and that if Wee should think fit to give way against any complaints, though they may seem very specious, might yet in the consequence disturbe Our whole Government there. And that the said Rules are of equall credit and Authority with the Act of Settlement, the attempt of breaking any part whereof Wee look upon as very dangerous and prejudiciall to Our Service. Wee have, therefore, thought fit to direct and require you, as Wee doe by these Presents, to use such means as you shall think fit for the effectuall suppressing all Preparations to such a Disorder in the same manner as you would doe any other Sedition, and that you give Order to Our Atturney or Sollicitor Generall there to proceed by information against the Principall movers in this businesse, if you should think it for Our Service. Neverthelesse, Our pleasure is, that you enquire and certify unto Us, with what convenient speed you may, what Numbers there are of persons living in any of the Corporations of that Our Kingdome within the benefit of the words [and others] in the second Rule, that may give occasion of offence, to the End that Wee may be informed whether there may be any seeming grounds for these complaints. And for soe doing this shall be your Warrant. And soe Wee bid you heartily farewell.

Given at Our Court at Whitehall the 31st day of March, 1674, in the Six & Twentieth yeare of Our Reigne.

Digitized by Google

CXXXI.—Lord Conway to the Earl of Essex.

May it please Yo^r Excel^ce, Ragley, 31st March, 1674.

* * * * *

I told yor Excel^ce, in my last from London of the 24th instant, that I had sent away my Character into these parts, yet I suppose my relations will not be prevented by others. In my Letter of the 28th past, I acquainted Yo^r Excel^ce that the project of all Affaires at Court depended upon the Regulation of Expenses. When this was searcht into, it appeared that every yeare since the King came in, he had exceeded his constant Revenue a Million of Money, except one yeare that it was but halfe so much. *Treasurer*, who took much paines to see through the bottome of the cheat, desired *King* that the Fleet might, in the first place, be pay'd off, and that the King might be moved to put a stop to all Sallaryes and Pentions till the Seamen were pay'd, and all Mony taken up upon Credit to have them repay'd, for that the King was at 1500^ld a day charge extraordinary till this was donne. Great perplexityes ensued for some days. It was given out in the City that there was a generall stop put upon the Exchequer, and many Bankiers who were known or suspected to lend mony to the Court, had all their mony cal'd in, and this was by the Art of those that labor'd to break the Regulation. On the other side, the Courtiers were enraged, and *Anglesey* swore he knew not how to goe to Markett. *Keeper* grumbled as much as any, and *Arlington*, I heard, took it ill *his private intelligence mony* should not be reckoned upon as an indispensable thing. The *Dutchesse of Portsmouth* was advised by *King* to make a friendship with *Trear.* *She* had bought *a Necklasse of Pearle*, 8000^ld price, of a Marchant, and *a payre of Diamond Pendants*, 3000 Guynyes, of *Elder Lady Northumberland*, but neither of them would part with them without ready mony. I left *Trear.* and the

Digitized by Google

aforesd person in treaty, and I suppose they are both able to make their bargains. The intentions of *Ormond* to goe into *Ireland* made his followers give it out that *Essex was to be recalled.* This alarmed me so much that I had little rest till *Trear.* spoke with *King*, who assured him of the vanity of it, and say'd much more concerning *Ormond* and *Orrery* then I need to repeat. I am sure *King* is very glad of the departure of *Ormond.*

* * * * *

CXXXII.—The Earl of Essex to William Harbord.

Mr. Harbord, Dublin Castle, March 28, 1674.

On ye 13th of Octobr last I recd a Lre from my Lord of Shaftesbury, then Ld Chancellr, a copy whereof is here enclosed, by wch you will finde yt his Matie did then designe some inspection into ye disposition wch hath bin made of lands here; & I am also thereby directed ye holding correspondence upon this subject wth his Lp, & none other. I have taken care to employ some persons wth great secrecie about ye worke, & doe not finde yt any are allarmd wth it, or in ye least suspect what is doeing. Dr Gorge, so much commended in my Ld Shaftesbury's Lre as a man very skilfull in ye whole compass of Irish Affairs, appears to me no very extraordinary person, & as for his knowledge in matters of this Kingdome, here are severall infinitely beyond him, only they have not ye luck to be known on ye other side; so as this Dr being better able to speake upon subjects of this sort than others who appear there, is, I believe, ye ground of putting so much value upon him.

* * * * *

His Maties designe by this search, I presume, was to bring all these Lands so discoverd into a Comon Stocke, to ye intent they might be applied to ye ends of ye Act, & ye Remainder to be an additionall revenue to ye Crowne; but now, whilst I was thus far

Digitized by Google

advanced, there came severall Lr̃es under ye Signett, for ye grant of Lands to persons who shall discover them : one Lr̃e for my Ld. Kingstown, bearing date 23rd Feb. ; two on ye behalfe of Coll. Dillon, of ye 29th Jan. & 2^d^ of March ; & one for my Lord Mount Alexand^r^ of ye 29th Jan. 73. Many others, I hear, are ready, & no doubt of it will be gained ; & I cannot but say that by this course ye King hath brought, as our English proverb is, " An old House on his head," for here are abundance of men preparing to goe into England upon these designs, & I finde severall of them have already bin advising wth Councill to frame Lr̃es to this purpose, so as his Matie must expect disquiet enough by these sollicitations. These Lr̃es being utterly incompatible with ye other designe, I desire you will get a Time to speake privately wth his Matie & know his pleasure what He will have done, for if his intentions continue to prosecute these discoverys in ye manner my Ld. of Shaftesbury's Lr̃e directs, & to proceed to an orderly disposition of such Lands as shall be found out, there must be one Lr̃e drawn to suspend all these Grants, & all others of ye like kind that shall be obtained ; but if his Matie shall rather thinke fitt y^t^ every man who hath a pretention gett what he can, 'Tis necessary I should herein know his pleasure, that so I may desist from ye other worke, & putt his Matie to no further unnecessary charge upon the enquiry.

The Truth is, ye Lands of Ireland have bin a meer scramble, & ye least done by way of orderly distribution of them as perhaps hath ever been known, wch makes all men soe unsettled in their Estates & soe unquiet in their possessions. And this hath been a ground for projectors to worke upon ; w^ch^, considering Ireland as a plantation (for in reallitie it is litle other), cannot but be so great a discouragem^t^ to all people from coming hither, & to those who are here from laying out moneys on Improvemen^ts^, as this alone is obstacle enough to ye flourishing of it. I could heartily wish that one way or other there were an end of these discoverys, for better were it for ye Crowne to be cheated of its Right to divers parcells of Lands, than by perpetuall Inquisitions so to harass men's

Digitized by Google

Estates, and disparage their Titles to them, as all men are afraid to deale, and, consequently, both ye Increase of people and Improvem^t^ of Trade, to ye greater damage of ye publick revenue, is hereby most notoriously hinderd. Therefore I doe humbly propose, that wch way soever his Matie shall take for ye clearing these doubtfull Titles, there may at length be an End; and that after a year or two, or such other Time as his Matie shall thinke fitt, there may be no further vexation of this kind upon ye people. All this I would have you discourse wth ye King, but not communicate it to any other person whatever, and return me an Answer as speedily as may be. In case his Matie approve ye satisfying private men's pretentions separately, I have herew^th^ sent you one, being as just as any, and exactly pursuant to ye Acts of Settlement.

This I desire you would get signed. Here is a province in this Kingdome, I mean ye province of Coñaght and County Clare, ye new Estates whereof are as yet wholly unsettled. I have sent over ye case to my Lord of Arlington, and desire you will sollicite ye dispatch of it, Summer being ye Time most proper to send out Com^rs^ for such an Affair.

CXXXIII.—The Earl of Essex to William Harbord.

Mr. Harbord, Dublin Castle, March 31, '74.

* * * * *

The discours you tell me you had wth his Matie concerning my administracõn of Affairs[a] here gives me great satisfaction.

'Tis very strange that this country cannot be furnished wth small money, but still one obstruction or other intervenes to hinder it. I have been above a year labouring to gett some here. At first we were told that some of those made for England should be sent

[a] See Letter CXXIX.

Digitized by Google

over, wch I approvd & desired might come; afterwards these were refused. Then, as you know, I proposed that if they would not serve us out of England, it might be left to me to provide ye Country wth them, w^ch^ (as you best understand) I intended to doe wth litle profitt to my selfe, & most advantage that could be to ye publick. Now that this is almost consented to (as this last Lr̃e of y^rs^ tells me) a Patent of Sr Thomas Armstrong's is started up to obstruct it. I am certaine ye poor Kingdome suffers extremely for want of small money, & are miserably cheated by every fellow that coynes what he pleaseth, & I wish ye King would putt it in some way, that ye Country might be supplied. But then it must be considered that if it falls into ye hand of this Patentee, or any other of mean fortune, if he be not tied strictly to Rules of what value to make them, He and his partners will only intend their owne profitt, & ye people be much abused by that coyne.

I confess I have a great desire to doe some publick thing here for ye advantage of ye Kingdome, & have bin often much troubled to see how every of these intentions for ye com̃on good are so strongly hedgd up by patents, Grants, and other Incumbrances, as 'tis almost impossible to breake through them.

You may observe an instance hereof even in these Farthings, but there is a greater, & such as no man almost can guess at ye value, & that is ye Mines of this Kingdome, wch I am confid^t^ for Lead, Copper, nay, and perhaps Silver, may be equall to any in ye World. The working of all wch are discouraged, & indeed totally suppressd, by a Patent of Sr George Hamilton's for Mine Royall, so as no man that hath any Mines but useth his utmost endeavours to conceale them. This I only mention by y^e^ by, but perhaps on some further enquiry I shall make a more serious representac̃on of it.

* * * * *

Digitized by Google

CXXXIV.—The Earl of Essex to William Harbord.

Mr. Harbord, Dublin Castle, March 31, '74.

The severall discourses that have bin in Towne of my removall from this Gover^{mt}, tho' I am confid^{t} there was no ground for them, yet I would be glad that before you leave London you doe engage my Lord of Arlington, or Secretary Coventry, or some other whom we may be sure of that should be watchfull, if at any time hereafter such an intention should be, that I may have timely notice thereof. This I thought fitt to let you know by a safe hand, & pray setle it with some person before you come away.

CXXXV.—William Harbord to the Earl of Essex.

May y^{r} please y^{r} Excellency, 4th Apr. '74.

I writt to you at large by ye last post, & gave you an Account of our affaires here. There came in a packet this weeke from Ireland dated 24° of ye last month, but I had none int, where off I desire ye Excellency to take advice, least, comming under Mr. Bridgman's care, I might misse y^{m}, not by accident, & I am the more suspitious because of ye last Letter you writt to Arlington about Ranelagh, where off I supose Arlington will give Essex notice this night, and what directions King gave int. I feare y^{t} ye Farmers doe think y^{m}selves hard used by Lord Ranelagh, & y^{t} Essex is too greatly inclining to Ranelagh in their opinion. They have taken ye whole Farme upon y^{m}selves, & D^{r}. William Sleare & one Muschiamp are their partners; but they endeavour to rout Sleare & Muschiamp, if possible. They are also in hopes to gain 5 yeares added to ye present terme, & offer for it upon ye same Covernents

Digitized by Google

to paye 229,000*l.* & 20,000*l.* to ye privy purse yearly. Y^e^ last is a strong motive in this age, & to advance 100,000*l.*, repaying y^m^selves yearly 20,000*l.* for 5 years till ye same be repaid, I feare this will take, though certainly more might be gotten for it, ready money well placed being a great promoter of buissinesse here.

M^r^. Bridgman will send y^r^ Excellency this night his Maties Directions how to proceede against ye Arch. Bish. etc. *King* doth on all occasions expresse so great a value for *Essex*, y^t^ he may have any thing donne y^t^ he shall advise, so as it be delivered to *King* fairly ; but I think, w^th^out vanity, y^t^ ye best way is to write what ever you have a minde to in a distinct clause by itself, & send it me to reade to *King*, & I doe almost engage ye any thing reasonable wilbe granted; but I cannot finde cleane hands, from some little interest or another, to put it into. The King went to Newmarket on Thursday last, & wilbe back next Saturday.

My Lord Trear is better in health, but looks ill & unhealthy. I shal be glad to receive y^r^ comands by ye first, y^t^ so I may be moving from hence.

Mutton is here at 8*d.* per pound ; Beef, 4*d.* ; Corne for bread, 10 s^b^ per Bushell, & all things to be eaten proportionable. The Dutch Ambass^s^ are expected daily. We are in great streights for money, especially the Navy ; & tis ye generall opinion y^t^ ye parliament will hold, such are our necessities.

CXXXVI.—William Harbord to the Earl of Essex.

May y^r^ please y^r^ Excellency, 7 Apr. '74.

* * * * *

To the end that no time may be lost for ye Dispatching ye Instructions, I am just going to Newmarket to deliver his Maties Letters to him, & to discourse wth him upon those points wherein ye Excellency Desires his present Direction, & to me ye proposalls & advice

Digitized by Google

seem so discreet y^t^ I hope to finde successe, & I am the more encouraged to hope so by ye great readinesse I find in *King* to receave any account from me of ye manner of Government, & so frankly on every occasion to seeme quiet & satisfied wth ye trust he has reposed in you, though you can not but believe y^t^ many persons are both ready & willing for divers ends & Designes to doe a man in so considerable a post as you are in all the Ill effects they can ; &, w^th^out flattery, *Essex* is by all the best men here in great creditt, & wilbe so in despight of all men, so long as he promotes *the Protestant Interest.* I hope ye letter. concerning ye proceedings upon the Adress, & sent away last Saturday, will come safe to y^r^ hands, & not be unpleasing to you, & tis my humble opinion y^t^ you may make good use of it, not only in point of reputation to y^r^ self, but by y^r^ prudent conduct in it, his Maties affaires there may Receave great Benefitt, & ye Kingdome both a security to one & a satisfaction to ye other party.

I begg y^r^ Excellencies pardon for this degression, &, in obedience to y^r^ cõmands, shall reminde his Ma^ty^ of ye Letter writt to you by Shaftesbury by cõmand for King, & of ye contents thereoff, And endeavour to obstruct in the first place this Torrent, w^ch^, in my poore opinion, Threatens disorders as well as the Disquieting of men's mindes & futures, but if that can not be then, I will get the Letters y^r^ Excellency hath sent signed, & Returne y^m^ to you by ye first oportunity.

* * * * *

I did ye last night discourse wth Arlington at supper wth him about these Murdering Letters. He Excuseth himself ritely as Keeper, but—Dulce est Lucrum, etc.; & I finde y^t^ Ingredients moves ye great ones as well as ye Little here. I will Imploy all ye Creditt & understanding I am Master of to Convert this affaire either to ye good of ye King and his affaires there preferable to all other considerations or to y^r^ Reputation ; y^t^ so no blame may lye at y^r^ Excellencies Doors, for not having done y^r^ part. I have

Digitized by Google

advised wth Sir Hen. Capell and S^r^ Ch. Harbord, whome I dare saye may be benefited, & shall take my measures accordingly.

* * * * *

I confesse 'tis a wonderfull thing to see that nothing y^t^ is either good or great can be designed for ye publique, but some pattent either Illegale or Inconvenient stands in the way; though I confess I am convinced y^t^ the coyning of Farthings & half pence, such I meane as y^r^ Excellency would owne for countenance in Ireland, is not practicable, w^thout^ putting his Ma^ty^ to a great charge, & y^t^ a 3^d^ part & lesse of ye expense will bring great quantities out of England, such as will give you security & quiet, wch in this age is perhaps preferable to y^t^ generosity wch Invites y^r^ Excellency to have y^m^ coyned there for ye good of ye Kingdome during y^r^ Government of it. At my coming over I will more particularly informe y^r^ Excellency of this affaire, & I hope satisfye you y^t^ no care nor paines have been wanting to observe y^r^ Commands int. As for what relates to Kilmainham Mills, I hope by Lawe they wilbe his Maties. Sr Maurice insists much upon a pattent he hath thereoff, and y^t^ confirmed by ye Act, but shows none, & sometimes 'tis in Ireland & sometimes here. *Arlington* used to tell me y^t^ his Interest arose from *Dutchess of Cleaveland*, but I have often had of late an opportunity to speake w^th^ *Dutchess of Cleaveland*, & finde that Sr Maurice is pursuing a buishiness there, but 'tis of another nature. And I am assured y^t^ 'tis his money that gives him that favour he meets w^th^, but whether he give it to Arlington or Bridgman or both I know not, but believe both. I shall satisfye his Ma^ty^ of his Right to those Mills by ye 2 Certificates your Excell^cy^ hath sent.

* * * * *

I hope to see y^r^ Excellency at ye Head of some very good & publicke thing in that kingdome, though y^r^ Designes for coyning of Farthings answer not y^r^ Expectation, but his Ma^ty^ Inclining to

Digitized by Google

trust wth a Parleament there, wch he hath often exprest to me, I hope y^r^ creditt wth them will incline them to assist his Ma^ty^ wth money for ye building of some shipping for the Defence of their Navigation, upon the welfare whereoff depends ye value of all their Estates, and indeed their common security, and the fortifying their harbours, providing stores for their Defence & places proper to Lodge them Inn safely against all Events. Of those heads I have discoursed wth his Ma^ty^, who seems infinitely satisfyed wth you, & Resolves to put ye Conduct of a Parliament into y^r^ Hands, saying y^t^ you could govern it better than himself, & y^t^ y^r^ tlent laye y^t^ way, and much more to this effect, whereoff at my comming over I will give y^r^ Excellency a more particular account.

* * * * *

Here hath been on Sunday last some disturbance among 2 Companies commanded by Lord Mount Alex^r^ & Captain Swiftnan, ye famous Robber, but It seems he hath bought Mr Wicherley's Company in ye Duke of Bucks his Regiment. These 2 Companies coming from Winchester in their way to Chester were much dissatisfyed wth their officers ill paying of y^m^ & some ill usage about their last Expedition at Sea, fell into disorders, thereupon tooke ye Colours, & 85 of ye whole number came away to London to complaine, whereoff ye officers giving notice to ye Lord Craven, a party of ye Guard House were drawne out, & sent to meet y^m^ at Brainford, commanded by Collingwood & Hewett. They mett y^m^ there, inclosed y^m^, & taking away their Coulors & Armes inquired into the thing, seized on 5 of ye most guilty, brought y^m^ away to ye Horse Guards, & sent ye other 80 on their march wth their Armes. Ranelagh was there to vindicate himself last night y^t^ he had paid the officers wch he hath done to ye 7th of March; but Savage, Predecessor to Ld. Mount Alex^r^ & Wicherley, have not been so just to ye Soldiers.

* * * * *

I finde y^t^ *Ranelagh & Bridgman* are laying a plott to divide

Digitized by Google

Arl. & Essex, & to make *Essex* jealous of *Arl. & Will. Harbord*, hoping, I mean Ranelagh, thereby to shelter and save himself; but I pray believe y^t^ W. Harbord is & wilbe to ye last hour of his Life faithfull to you. I dare pawne my life for him.

CXXXVII.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, Aprill 9th, '74.

In y^r^ L^ps^ of y^e^ 31 of March you gave me a hint of my Ld. Ranelagh's having some knowledge of y^e^ substance of my Lr̃e dated y^e^ 17th of March (wherein I discoursed something concerning his L^ps^ Undertaking), & that even before y^e^ Lr̃e went out of my owne pockett. I have long had an apprehen$\tilde{c}$on that his L^p^ hath practised y^e^ opening of Lr̃es (w^ch^, if you please but to aske my Lord of Ossory, he can tell you how dextrous he is in things of this kind). I formerly gave y^r^ L^p^ some intimacions of my Jealousies herein, by a Lr̃e dated y^e^ 28th of Jan., & sent by Capt Crofts. Here is one Dorilaus (son, as I am informed, to Dr. Dorilaus, who, in ye Time of ye Troubles, was killed beyond ye seas). This man hath very good skill in opening & decyphering Lr̃es. He hath bin observed to be often about ye Post Office, & if he be not employed by y^r^ L^p^, or any other Secretary of State in England for Intelligence here, I have a great suspicion he is made use of by some others for that purpose, & very possibly by my Lord Ranelagh, for things of this nature are commonly carried so in ye darke, & under such disguises, as 'Tis not easy to discover ye Truth.

I thought it not amiss to give ye L^p^ notice of this, that you might guess wch way Intelligences of this sort may come, & to doe it by a very safe hand, such as I know this Gentleman to be.

Digitized by Google

CXXXVIII.—The Earl of Essex to William Harbord.

Mr. Harbord, Dublin Castle, Aprill 11th, '74.

Having lately bin a hunting journy in ye country, I found those parts where I was soe excellent for sport, as indeed I know none equall to them in England. I have now bin twice there, and doe perceive that by my giving countenance to those sort of recreations, it beginns to incline people to keep Horses more then formerly was accustomed. Upon this occasion there is a plate sett up at Kildare to be run for constantly every year, & I hear there is eight or nine Horses in keeping for that Match. Now, besides ye particular pleasure that I take in hunting, I am apt to believe that such meetings & recreations are not without their use even to ye publick, it giving opportunitie for good company to meet together, & for ye Lieut to be better acquainted wth severall persons & gentlemen of ye Country, wch otherwise he would scarce know; but above all it will most certinly encourage ye breed of good Horses, wch may perhaps be as good an Improvemt to this Kingdome as anything that can be thought of; & if any man did but reflect how much ye Horses of England are mended since ye King himselfe used to goe to Newmarkett, from what they were before, it may easily be guessed what impression such a sort of encouragemt here would make in ye like kind.

* * * * *

Perhaps my owne inclinations to Field sports, of wch I have ever bin a Lover, may make me, in partialitie to my selfe, a litle more desirous of such an accommodation, & Truly (as I have already observed) I conceive even from these Entertainmts moderately used & well applied, ye publick may reap a considerable benefitt; besides, I would be glad to leave this Goverment to whomsoever shall succeed me, better supplied wth conveniencies then I found

Digitized by Google

it, & I thinke it is both for his Majesties honour & service that whoever has so great a Trust should have ye encouragem^t^ of living easily & wth pleasure, whilst he undertakes so much business.

Pray let me know how his Matie relisheth this & ye other proposall of getting those Lands within ye Parke, for if these two can be compassd (& as I designd them without charge to his Majestie) I know nothing further I can have to offer for ye accomodation of this place.

CXXXIX.—William Harbord to the Earl of Essex.

May it please yor Excellency, 14 Apr: 1674.

Since my last of ye 7th instant, I have waited on his Ma^ty^ at Newmarket, & there delivered to him ye Excellencies, wch he read very distinctly before dinner, & after dinner was pleased to call me into his Closet, & there to hear me Read to him ye Copy of my Ld Shaftesbury's Letter to y^r^ Excellency, & y^t^ wch you were pleased to write to me about ye present promotes of Deficiencies; whereupon he also read y^r^ Excell^s^ writt to him then upon y^t^ subject, & did very much aprove of y^r^ method, & resolved that a Letter should be immediately writt to y^r^ Excellency, wth directions to stopp all proceedings upon ye former letter to y^t^ Effect.

* * * * *

Those I take to be ye Directions I then receaved from y^r^ Excellency. As to ye first, I herew^th^ send you a Letter to put a stop; & it's his Ma^tys^ pleasure y^t^ you proceede wth ye account you are preparing to give him of all ye Lands wch will come wth ye Crown stock, & y^t^ wth ye very first opportunity you can, & y^t^ such Account may be brought over by some person you can trust, & he was pleased to think 3 monthes a reasonable time for ye protecting of it.

Digitized by Google

His Ma^ty did likewise give Directions y^t a Letter should be sent to y^r Excellency for ye proceeding against Skiddy, &c., & seizing of their Estates for his Maties use; but M^r. Secretary Coventry makes some scruple of sending such a Letter, saying y^t ye forfeitures belong to Ld Ranelagh, & y^t his Ma^ty may pardon the offendors, but y^t their goods goe to his Lop; but I dare saye I have laid yt foundation wth his Ma^ty y^t If they be his nobody will give y^m from him.

I delivered also y^r Excellencies to *Duke*, who read it, but gave me no manner of answer. He was in the Closett all the time, & I could perceive listen'd all he could at that distance, wch made me speake softly.

At my returne last night I went to see *Arlington*, & found him very much displeased y^t you should in so great an affaire, & wherein he had had so great a hand, proceede w^thout him; & realy, But y^t y^r Excellency had been pleased to give me y^r Commands int, I was in great debate what to doe; but having foreseen the discontent this would give him, To take all, I asked his Ma^ty wth whome you should now correspond upon this matter, his Ma^ty having been pleased to take ye seale from my Ld. Shaftesbury, & proposed y^t it might be *Arlington*, wch he readily consented to. My reason was that by y^t means I might be necessitated to acquaint his Lop wth what Directions y^r Excellency had heretofore receaved upon that subject, y^t so he might see y^t you did not decline him, wch I found tooke hard wth him till I had esclarcy that matter, & then he was infinitely satisfyed both wth y^r advice & arguments against ye Letters & y^r manner of proceeding with him. I then also did understand y^t my Lord Kingstone, by ye help of his Friend *Portsmouth*, did endeavour to give a salvo for his pretensions, whereupon this morning I went to King & discoursed that whole affaire again wth him, & he told me y^t nothing should be done therein till ye whole laye before him, & y^t he, being prest ye last night by *Cleaveland*, he had given ye same answer, & bid her to be quiet till then, & y^t others should be so likewise; And I believe y^t It hath already had that effect, for

Digitized by Google

comming just now inn to dinner, I finde y^t^ Kingstone hath been twice to hunt me out, & desires me to be w^t^hin at 3 a-Clock; what his buissenesse is I know not.

* * * * *

I did at Newmarket touch upon ye part of *Essex* his Letter about *Anglesey* having an underhand dealing in ye disorders N^r^ Dublin, and found an easy matter of it; & had not *Duke* bin there I would have prest it. I am troubled to finde how great an influence *Ranelagh* hath on *King*, wch makes me fear storms that way; but when the Parliam^t^ meets, of which there is no danger, considering the present necessities, that walk will be easy, & *Essex* must take his measures accordingly. The Dutch Embassadors are not yet come, wch hinders Sr William Temple's going over. Tomorrow my Lord Arlington goeth to Euston for 10 dayes.

CXL.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, Aprill 18th, '74.

Since my last here are severall other Companys arrived; in all we have come into this Kingdome 33 Companys.[a] We finde ye men a litle disorderly, particularly Capt Eustace & Capt Creighton's Companys have bin in some mutiny, but I orderd two of their principalls imediately to be layd in ye Marshalsea in Irons, & since that they are all very quiet. I am pretty apt to thinke that ye slackness of dicipline used in England towards Soldiers makes these understand themselves not so well as they ought, & am also in some doubt whether all ye Officers have dealt fairly wth them, there

[a] The total number of companies sent over was 41. They were set free by the peace with the Dutch.

Digitized by Google

being many complaints of that nature among them; but I question not in a litle time we shall bring them to better Terms, there having always bin a greater Latitude permitted to ye Lieu^t^ here of punishing of Soldiers then would be born wth in England. My first care is to place them in commodious Quarters, & herein I doe not at present dispose of them to such parts, as I intend standing Garrisons, but rather send them to such Places where provisions are most cheape, for indeed in many countrys, & more particularly in Connaght, people are in a starving condition. I doe very much fear a Famine this summer, their Corne being all spent & their Cattle dead. This makes me loath to discourage any of these new Comers at ye first by placing them where they should endure any hardships. I doe also take care to quarter most of these new men in open Villages, rather then places of strength, & that neer some Quarter where our Troops of Horse ly, that they may be ready to suppress any sedition that should happen among them. After I am for some months acquainted wth their humors, I shall then, towards ye end of ye summer, remove them to such Garrisons as are of most importance.

CXLI.—William Harbord to the Earl of Essex.

May it please y^R^ Excellency, 21 Apr: 1674.

I gave you an Account of what passed at Newmarkett, and sent you his Maties Letter for stopping all proceedings upon those Letters for allowing Deficiencies to Coll: Dillon, &c., wch I hope came safe to y^r^ Excellency; since wch my Lord Arlington, by his Maties Command, hath read y^r^ Letter to him concerning my Lord Ranelagh's proceedings upon his undertaking, & y^r^ observation & thought thereon, wch did at first very much disturb his Lo^p^,[a] and he, w^th^

[a] *i.e.* Ranelagh.

Digitized by Google

passion enough, exprest his sence of it, & pretended y^t^ he would be heard by his Ma^ty^ at ye Coñittee for forrain Affaires, & y^t^ he did not dout of being able to satisfye his Ma^ty^ of his having performed wth his Ma^ty^, & though in some part his Covenants had not been so fully performed, according to ye Letter of his Covenant, as he wished, yet in other things he had for his Maties Especiall service, & by his particular direction, so much overdonne his other failings, y^t^ he hoped & did not dout but that upon the whole his Ma^ty^ was abundantly satisfyed thereby. And nobody defended these Arguments & this cause so briskly as Bridgeman, & Essex must be mistaken, he was sure. In order that no surprise might be put upon y^r^ Excellency by the defered hearing, I made application to all y^r^ officers, y^t^ hearing y^t^ my Lord Ranelagh had received ye Heads of y^r^ Letter, I desired y^t^ he might have liberty to be heard as he desired, & y^t^ his answer thereunto might be given in writing & transmitted to y^r^ Excellency for y^r^ opinion and answer, y^t^ so both lying before him he might examine the truth on each side & make his judgment upon ye whole matter; but being this day at my Ld Treãrs, I mett wth my Ld Ranelagh, who pretends to have no dissatisfactions any wayes considerable, but saith y^t^ this night, by ye post, he will acknowledge ye same to y^r^ Excellency, & y^t^ he will ever submitt all his pretensions to you; but what judgment to make of him God he knowes. I am sure that his friend Speaker Seymor[a] doth wth great concern doe Essex all the ill effects he can, & particularly about the Connaught Letter. I was in hopes this evening to have gotten an Audience of his Ma^ty^ upon some particulars, but could not possibly have an opportunity; to-morrow I hope I shall, & laye the thing plainely before him. This Letter of y^r^ Excellency hath very much shaken his partner's Creditt, but all y^t^ either see it or reade it are abundantly satisfyed wth y^r^ Excellencies conduct in this affaire. He is willing to have a Letter sent over to command his partners to laye before you ye state of all such monies as they have receaved & paid, & what they are still to paye & to receave,

[a] Who was in close alliance with Danby.

Digitized by Google

towards ye doing of it; & y^t^ you may be also directed to passe their accounts, & then to state their failings, wch I will accordingly endeavour to procure by ye next, if possible, & to give a dispatch of y^r^ Letter about Connaught wch hath been referred to my Ld Keeper, & some additions made to it by his Lordp., whereoff y^r^ Excellency shall have an Account by ye next.

* * * * *

CXLII.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, Aprill 25th, '74.

* * * * *

The last week's Packett brought over a News Lr̃e, wch hath bin dispersed through all ye country & read at severall coffee houses in this Citty. It begins wth ye mention of some Orders lately sent to me from England, & for ye first part of them, concerning ye banishing ye Roman Clergy (other than that I thinke it may be very inconvenient for his Maties service to have such Ord^rs^ as are sent me made publick), there can be no harme in it; but then for ye second part, wch pretends to mention ye Lr̃e I had concerning ye Citty of Dublin, ye matter is quite mistaken, & if this recitall of ye substance thereof be such as any sense can be drawn from it, it can only serve to incite & encourage people to make their Exceptions ag^t^ ye Rules, wch y^r^ L^p^ well knows was ye intention of that Lr̃e to obviate & prohibite.

I finde it hath left some of ye Citty a discoursing one wth another what it might mean, each man making a construction according to what he would have it. I sent for ye Post master & examind him how this Lr̃e came to be dispersed, & he told me that ye Originall of it was from Mr. Ball, an Under Clerke of Sr Joseph Williamson,

Digitized by Google

that ye Lr̃e was writt to one Burroughs, of Kinsale, to whom Mr. Ball does constantly write ye ordinary news of ye Towne, and Mr. Burroughs permitts him to open that packett & copy ye Lr̃e & divulge it here; ye Master of ye Packett hath promised me ye Originall, but cannot have it returned from Kinsale till ye next weeke. However, in ye mean Time I have sent y^r^ L^p^ a copy of it, & scored that part wth a pen at wch I take exceptions, & submitt ye whole to y^r^ L^ps^ consideration.

I have made enquiry what persons have bin admitted to their freedoms in this City since ye publishing of ye Rules, & if any have come in upon ye Acc^t^ of ye words (or others). My Ld Mayor hath assured me that not any one person hath bin brought in upon that score. One single man, a Protestant, who says he was borne in Amsterdam, but of English parents, hath petitioned for his freedome, wch is not yet allowed him, in regard there hath, since his application, no Assembly mett who could grant it; but excepting him there is not any hitherto hath so much as desired it. I am also confid^t^ that there is none in ye other part of ye Kingdome who upon this Acc^t^ have bin priviledgd.

* * * * *

Whitehall, 11th Aprill, 74.

His Matie hath sent his Coñands to my Ld Lieu^t^ & Councell of Ireland to take some speedy course to banish all ye Popish Titular Clergy out of that Kingdome, *& to examine ye late misinterpretation of his Ord^r^ about regulating Corporacions, that all imaginable satisfaction may be given to his people there.*

Last weeke dyed ye Earle of Denbigh, etc.

Digitized by Google

CXLIII.—Sir William Temple to the Earl of Essex.

My Lord, Shene, Apr. 28, '74.

Since my last I have mett with very little that was worth y^r^ Ex^cy's^ trouble, and less that was very fitt to pass in this commerce; besides, I knew you were so well informed by my Excellent Neighbor heere, that it would have been a wrong to him to offer at it while wee were both together upon the same scene, as we have commonly been of late, either in the Towne or Country. I thought it, therefore, the least troublesome parts to y^r^ L^sp^, as well as the most neighbourly to y^r^ Brother, to talke over to him any thing that came in my way, and that I imagine was worth either of y^r^ knoledge, wch Hee tells mee hee gives you parte of among those better lights hee drawes from other hands. All the present talke is about the great preparations on all hands for this present Campania, wch will beginn with great forces and expectations, and, without the fortune of great battails or great sieges, may very well ende in the French being putt upon a defensive parte. This inclines them very much to a peace, and the pointe of trade falling so unavoydably into our hands by the continuance of a warr, disposes the States and people of Holland as much toward it on their side, though the Prince of Orange bee not in the same dispositions nor interest. Our Courte and Sweden seem both desirous of the peace so by our mediations, but neither Spaine nor Holland having yet accepted the offer of His Maj^ty's^, I doubt the events of this Campania must governe it, since the Empire being now united, Spaine must bee unwilling to loose the occasion they think they now possess of reducing France to the dispositions of leaving the world in quiet and their neighbors in the enjoyment of what they take to bee their right by the Pyrenean peace. I have verry narrowly escaped the being hurryed away into Hollande last weeke, even without the formality of staying for the arrivall of the Dutch Am^brs^, but I doubt I shall not bee able to deferr my going many days after they are come, wch goes a little

Digitized by Google

cold to a man's hearte, so turned as mine for so long past to the ease and leasure of this aire. All I see of good in the change is that my Ambassage being Ext^ry, it looks not like a thing of very long breath ; and, besides that, my imployment in it is a thing that all men and partys seeme to have conspir'd in except myself, and to presage no ill from or make ill reflections upon it, wch y^r L^sp would say were a great piece of luck if you saw our Scene.

When I come into Holland, if you desire it I shall furnish y^r L^sp with the current of what passes under my eye or in my reach there, and if I needed any body to answer for mee, y^r brother should doe it, that wherever I am y^r L^sp may reckon upon a person that is with all the truth, esteem, and affection you can wish,

My Lord, y^r Ex^cy's most faithful, humble servant,

W. TEMPLE.

CXLIV.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R EXCELLENCY, 28 Apr. '74.

* * * * *

I am infinitely sorry to finde how hardly *Monmouth* presseth upon *Essex* in these 2 Letters, but I hope to put a stop to this before ye next post, & I despair not of getting ye futritures hired during y^r Government towards ye purchassing ye Hunting place you desire. I did Intend to have begun my Jurney on Monday next, but I will delay it for some dayes in Expectation of Doctor Gorges, as you are pleased to Command, & to finish all y^r Commands before I leave this place. I am surprised to heare how ill Coll. Sandys payes his men, & shall acquaint his Ma^ty wth it. *Ranelagh* is very well w^th *King*, & Governs *Treasurer* absolutely, & I think y^t It is *Essex* his Interest to keep up the dispute and Animosity between *Ranelagh* & *Ormond;* for though *Ormond* be more a man of Honour, yet he is

Digitized by Google

very Desirous to my knowledge to go into Essex his place, and did imploy *Carlingford* to *Duke* for y^t^ purpose. Sr Henry wilbe here on Thursday in order to ye Settling a future Correspondence, in case Ld of Arlington leave his place, & to create a good understanding between *Sec. Coventry & Essex.* I finde y^t^ *Sr Robt Southwell* is very affectionate in the concerns of *Essex.* I would advise *Essex* to acknowledge it by ye next. My Lady Duchesse of Somerset is dead, but how she hath disposed of my Lady ye neece I can not yet learne. *Lodderdale* is expected either here or at Ham to-morrow night. I will endeavour to make him *Essex* his friend in regard y^t^ *Duke* depends much on him. Lord Martial[a] is gonne to Brussels, and from thence to Rome, to sollicite a generall peace. France is Lowe, and Germany growes united against France, to ye great satisfaction of England.

CXLV.—Lord Conway to the Earl of Essex.

May it please yor Excel^cie^,

Though I have had the honor to receave yor Excel^cies^ most obliging Letter of the 11th past, yet I did not thinke to have given yor Excel^cc^ the trouble of my acknowledgement till my arrivall at London, wch will not be yet these ten days; but having bin acquainted with some affaires wherein yor Excel^ce^ is concerned, my inclinations to yor service are to passionat to delay the presenting of my thoughts upon them to yor Excel^cc^.

I have seen the copy of yor Excel^cies^ Letter to My Lord Arlington of the 17th of March, and my Lord Ranelagh's Answer to yor objections, as also an Account, by way of Estimat of his Under-

[a] Marischall.

Digitized by Google

taking, presented to his Matie, and the copy of the King's Letter to yor Excel^ce bearing date 23rd Aprill.

I wish that those who importuned yor Excel^ce to this Representation had consulted yor Interest as much as their owne little advantages, For I thinke the Preservation of yor Excel^ce in that Government is infinitly more to be valued among us for the good of that kingdome then the payment of the 12 months Arreares to the Army, wch was the cheefe matter complained of. Yo^r Excel^ce may observe upon the King's Letter that you have gained very little ground in this matter. The Letter was drawn by *Keeper*,[a] and written every word with his owne hand.

In my opinion there could not be a more ready way taken to loose all those Arreares then by this way of proceeding, for if my Lord Ranelagh be prest and complained of, he will certainly place, by way of Defalcation upon those Arreares, all the Payments wch he hath made above his Contract, and all mony wch hath been stopt from him by reason of the War. So that that wch he would otherwise place upon the King's 80,000*l.*, and other Particulars, because he thinks it for his Reputation to pay off the Arreares of the Army, he will cast it upon them if they prove uneasy to him. And if he brings the 80,000*l.* cleere to the King's Privy Purse, I assure yor Excel^ce it will sway more then the consideration of those Arreares, or a much greater matter. I have heard that it was only this money payd to the privy purse which made King so unwilling to part from the Alliance of France.

* * * * *

[a] Finch.

Digitized by Google

CXLVI.—The Earl of Essex to Sir Henry Capel.[a]

Deare Brother, Dublin Castle, May 2d, '74.

I have recd yrs of ye 18th of Aprill, wch gives me a full Acct of many things relating to my selfe. As for my owne particular, I confess I am not so ambitious of Employmt, or so extremely delighted in it, that I could not at any Time wth much ease (& if it be more for his Majesties service) very cheerfully lay it downe. I am sure it is not my desire to continue in it to ye disadvantage of ye publick. I doe not at all wonder that every now & then there are discourses of my Removall, nor am I one whit startled at it, neither doe I in ye least believe, notwithstanding any Reports, it is intended, his Matie having bin graciously pleased at my taking leave of him to assure me that, whenever he found it necessary for his service to recall me, I should hear of it from himselfe, or his Order, wch I shall entirely depend upon, without regarding any blind discourses of ye Towne. I know very well that one in my station cannot but be envied by many, & ye design of getting themselves into ye place will encourage divers to doe me spightfull Offices. You instance yr apprehensions of my Ld Ranelagh upon ye acct of a Lre I writt to ye Earle of Arlington, & I know that my Ld Kingston, Coll. Dillon, etc., who had procured Lres for Grants upon discoverys, & multitudes of others who were preparing to gaine Lres, cannot be without their ill will towards me, since their Agents doe informe them all that I am ye person who have given an Interruption to all their projects (of this business my Ld of Arlington knows ye bottom). There is also another party wch I am sure is inveterate towards me; they are such as for my owne part, upon ye principles I act, I glory to be in defyance wth them, & that is Coll. Talbot & Father Patricke. If these men doe only designe that those of their owne persuasion (for religion I am confidt they have none) should live at ease & quiet in this country & enjoy ye equall benefitt of ye Laws now

[a] The chief part of this letter is in cypher.

Digitized by Google

established as others, I doe most heartily joyne wth them, & as I have hitherto bin, so shall ever bee carefull to doe impartiall justice to ye Papists as to ye Protestants; but if their aime be to introduce those of their owne persuasion & nation into powr & coñand, & to make them superior to ye English & Protestants here, I am not a man for their turne, & I care not if it be published to all ye world that I would, by all ways & means consistent wth my allegiance, oppose & obstruct them. These two men have from my first coming given me all ye disquiett they possibly could, by Lr̃es & severall Emissarys animating all ye disconted people here ag^t^ me, & fomenting all litle divisions & disorders w^thin^ ye Kingdome. How this is consistent wth ye duty of a good subject, I am yet to learne.

You see how many there are who take themselves to be engaged ag^t^ me, & none of them I am sure upon any other grounds then for ye exact performance of my Trust, from wch no consideration whatever shall divert me; and tho' (as I have said already) I have not ye least imagination that it is intended by his Matie I should be recalled, yet all late Lr̃es are so filld wth it, & those dispersd to all parts of ye Kingdome, as ye noise of it is a reall disadvantage to his Majesties service. The people here are a rough kind of people, & very apt to contemne their superiors, so as unless they be governd wth a good strict hand there is no dealing wth them. I have I confess by this year's experience masterd my owne Temper, & am upon occasion now & then harsh enough to some of them, as I see cause, & I doe finde ye benefitt of it. I doe therefore conceive that, since it is so much grown ye Coñon Talke of my removall, it may not be amiss my Lord of Arlington did move ye King. He would please upon some opportunity to say something to discourage ye beliefe of it in ye world, for I doe assure you, if men here have those imaginations in their heads, they will in a great measure withdraw ye reverence & respect for me wch is necessary to support his Majesties Authority here.

* * * * *

This Lr̃e you may, if you thinke fitt, coñunicate it all to my Lord of Arlington.

Digitized by Google

CXLVII.—The Earl of Essex to Sir Henry Capel.

Deare Brother, Dublin Castle, May 9th, '74.

[After complaining that an officer has been allowed to sell his command, without previous application to himself, Essex proceeds :—]

* * * * *

Yet I wish you would a little discourse this matter wth my Lord of Arlington, that this Gentleman is not ye first who hath served me thus, for some others, knowing I doe not like this bartering for commands, have asked my leave to goe into England, & then gett his Majesties consent for this purpose. If you did but know wth what contempt & scorne my Lord Berkeley was used by all people here, after they found He was not supported at Court.[a] It would not be thought strange if I have a more than ordinary concerne at these Things wch seeme so litle in themselves, for indeed ye nature of this people is very apt to trample on their superiors, & unless a man be thoroughly countenanced in England, there is no dealing wth them; therefore I would be glad some of my friends there would, as much as they could, prevent these inconveniences, for no man that doth not see it can tell how prejudiciall it is to his Majesties service, wch is impossible any Lieut can goe through wth it as he ought, unless ye world here doe believe him absolute in relation to those affairs that are under his charge. I may, perhaps, take ye libertie to speake more plainly upon this subject then another, having no concerne of profitt therein. It is my principle to bring in as fitt men as any I can finde to serve in ye Army, but by no means to make ye least benefitt (as some others have done) of those places.

* * * * *

[a] He is again urgent upon this point in a long letter to the king, on June 8, 1674.

Digitized by Google

CXLVIII.—The Earl of Essex to Sir Henry Capel.[a]

May 16, 1674.

Essex has certain *intelligence that Renel.* about a fortnight *since did resolve to* endeavour *Essex his removall; Treasurer, Speaker joyned in it.* These resolved to *get Lauderdell* his concurrence. *Conway, too,* is not *out. They intended* to propose *to K. the* placing of *Justices.*[b] *Essex* also *knows* who they propose to *name. Essex is not certaine* whether they will still continnue *this their design,* but *Essex is sure* 'twas once *resolved by them. I* think 'twere fitt *H.C. acquainted Arlington or Conway* with this, & *desired* them to be *watchfull* of the *proceeding. Ranelagh has* some reason to get *Essex displaced* at this *time* if *he can, for* he is now *paying ye arrears to Orrery,* & I find endeavours to *compound it,* by which they will *save* sixty *thousand pounds at lest. Essex* has alwaise *vigourously obstructed these actings,* they being by *convenants oblidged to pay this without deduction, composition, or defalcation. Essex* has found *two men* in this town, *one servant* to *Major Deane,* Commissioner of *treasury,* the other to *Champanty, their paymaster,* who deale for these *compositions,* and have already *bargained with many souldiers &* officers for *arrears. Essex* is apt to beleeve if *K.* be *throughly* sensible of these *trans-actions,* & thereby understands the true grounds of *these men's plots against Essex, K. will not* harken to their projects on that side. *Ranelagh seems* to play *a subtile game,* for being at *Court he has* often advantages of gaining *orders* in relation to his *affaires, &* if his *partners here* committ any gross *faults, his excuse* is easy, for he may *disowne any knowledge* of them, and in appearance seem *most innocent. Let H. C. be expectant* in this affaire, *& advise wth Arlington, Essex* his just & *true freind,* to whom this may be *shewed.*

[a] This is a loose leaf in Essex's handwriting among the copies of his letters by his secretary Aldworth.

[b] *i.e.* superseding him by Lords Justices.

Digitized by Google

This paper will *unriddle many* to you of the second of this instant May. The newes *dispersed here of my removall came from Trear. Orrery, Renella*, or their *servants*. As for the first, Captain *Fitzgerald can tell H. C.* what he knows of it.

CXLIX.—The Earl of Essex to Sir Henry Capel.

Deare Brother, Dublin Castle, May 16, '74.

I have this day rec̃d a Lr̃e from Mr Harbord dated ye 9th instant. wherein he tells me that Essex House is now to be sold, & valued at about 7000*l.* Tis a Purchase, I confess, wch I had rather make then anything I know, and it seemeth to me not to be overrated. I am very cautious of undertaking great things or plunging my selfe in debt, yet, could I be sure of continuing here one year, or a year & halfe longer, I doubt not of means to compass it. I would therefore be glad you entertained some Treaty of it, & finde to what Terms they can be brought. It ought to be considered in ye Purchase whether ye House be in good repaire, for if 'Twill cost a man any thing extraordinary to sett it right, that by so much will lessen ye value. I know my Lady Dutchess was careless enough in her business, & therefore I suspect ye Timber & other things, if they come to be searched, will be found very faulty. As for money to defray ye purchase, I would straine my selfe, as far as I could well be able. Thus much I can propose to doe: I have 2,500*l.* now ready by me to returne upon any warning, wch may be paid downe, & I shall be able about Michaelmas to pay 500*l.* more. Soon after Christmas I believe I can pay 2,000*l.*, & by Midsummer following I doubt not to gett together so much as will discharge ye rest, so as ye whole may be thus compleated in one year's Time, wch I conceive is very good payment. This I can doe, & yet send over now and then one or two Hunderd pds to raise & cover ye building of that wing wch is begun at Cassioberry, but then I must resolve to stop

Digitized by Google

my building there for this & ye next year, & only cover what is begun, & leave ye Inside finishing to some further opportunity, all wch I would be very glad to doe. This you must apprehend upon supposition that I stay here a year longer, & tho' no such thing can enter into a bargaine, yet you can best judge upon ye Place of ye likelyhood of my continuance, & accordingly guess what may most prudently be done. If you finde it likely, You may conclude for this House, wch truly is ye most convenient thing to me I could have; but then you must stop ye bargaine I am treating wth Mr Fotherley for his Land, &, if it be not already concluded, I would be glad to break off that wth Mr Hogsden for ye litle parcels of Land neer ye Bowling ground at Cassioberry; but as for Higby's, close—ye purchas is but 180*l.* at most, & it lyes so very convenient for me—as I would have that goe on.

Tis possible you may bring ye price of this House to 6,000*l.*, &, if soe, & that they require ready money downe, you see I shall be able to pay halfe immediately, & for the other halfe, money may be taken up & ye House engaged for it. My Lord Conway is never w^th^out such a summe, & I am sure He would be very willing to putt it into my hands. I doe imagine this being a Noted House it will not be difficult to let it to some Ambassador, or that from year to year, or perhaps two years, or some such short time, & that ye Rent may answer ye Interest of ye whole purchas money, soe as I doe not well see how I can be a Looser by it, if ye bargaine be carefully made. Pray take Sr Charls Harbord's advice in all y^r^ Proceedings upon it.

I confess there hath not any thing of this sort come in my way that I have so great a mind to as this, it being necessary for me to have a House in London, & I am sure, take all circumstances, none can be so fitt for me as this will be.

Digitized by Google

CL.—Lord Conway to the Earl of Essex.

May it please yo^R Excel^CE, London, 19 May, 1674.

I came to this towne last Friday, and I found my friends in a better condition then I left them: *Treasurer is esteemed the great support of the Crowne, Arlington* makes his *Interest amongst the discontented Members of Hous of Comons,* and *Duke*[a] *& Lodderdale are his mortal enemies.* If *Ormond goes into Ireland, he* will be *commanded to stay there,* and not *returne into England. Keeper,*[b] *not knowing the mistery of things, had like to have ruind himselfe for moving in the proclamation* against *spreaders of false news, yet you will not finde any thing in it which says parliam^t shall meet. Keeper* is now as ill with *Arlington* as any of the rest, and how ill *Arlington* is You will know it by this, that he will not be permitted to *part* with *his Secretary's place to Williamson, though he offers the mony demanded for it.* I wish that *Treasurer* and *Essex* were as intimat as I have always desired, and if *Conway* could compasse it without the assistance of *Essex,* it had been long since effected. *Trear.* told me that *Essex* had not delt well with him by writing to him in a Letter dated the 30th or 31st of March, to quicken *Ranelagh* in his payments, for otherwise Essex should be obliged to make a Representation of it, and when *Trear.* went to acquaint *King* with the contents of that Letter, *King* called for a Letter to *Arlington* of the 17th of March, wherein the Representation was made so many days before.[c] If Yo^r Excel^ce will take my word for it, you cannot split upon any other Rock then by running a tilt at *Ranelagh,* and by being thought too much of a party with *Arlington.* 'Tis true that *Orrery* doth *Essex* all the ill offices he can, but he hath lost himselfe beyond imagination, and hath no

[a] *i.e.* the Duke of York.

[b] Finch.

[c] This only took place Sept. 11, 1674, for 6,000*l.*, when Arlington was made Lord Chamberlain.

Digitized by Google

credit, and Trẽar. tells me all his complaints. But *Ranelagh* is a man of great action, and it is his Intrest to be well with *Essex*, and you may perceave it is not a small matter will make him otherwise. I wish Yo^{r} Excel^{ce} had a Letter wch I writ to you the 2nd of May I heare it is kept from you ; possibly, if you speak to my Brother Rawdon, he may get it. I have no designe but to leave yor affaires heere in a good posture, and in order to that I should be glad I could deliver a Letter from you to *Trear.* that might cordially assure him of yor friendship, and also that you writ some Paragraph in yor Letter to me to signify yor esteeme and readinesse to be favorable to *Ranelagh.* He hath now obtained what he so long aimed at, wch is the Vice-Tresurership. The King refused to give it him for Life, but only during pleasure, and he hath a Liberty to hold the Chancellorship till he comes into the Execution of the other.

* * * * *

The Parliam^{t} in Scotland is suddenly to be dissolved, and Duke Hamilton is coñing to London to be reconciled to my Lord Lauderdale.[a]

* * * * *

CLI.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, May 23, '74.

This Country hath long layn under great Oppressions by ye Extortion of ye Clerks of ye Crowne, Clerks of ye peace, & other like Officers. I have severall times bin made acquainted wth ye practice of these men, & have often told those who moved me in relation to these grievances, that if a Complaint were brought in a Regular Way by petition, I would redress it, & make those who

[a] Hamilton's real object was to complain of Lauderdale.—*Lauderdale Papers*, iii. pp. 41 *seq.*

Digitized by Google

were faulty in ye Execution of their Office smart for it. One practice of theirs is ye multiplying of frivolous Indictments, & I have known Instances of it to so great a degree, that one person hath had almost threescore brought ag^t^ him, who, tho' he were acquitted of them all, yet ye charges of ye Fees to ye Clerke of ye Crowne hath ruined ye poor man. For redress of this I have ordered ye Judges that in their severall Circuits they should discountenance, as much as they could, all vexatious Indictments for petty Crimes; But, besides, these Clerks of ye Crowne doe likewise make ye poor people pay double, treble, nay, sometimes six times ye value of their due Fees. This, by Law, is a forfeiture of their Office. The first petition wch hath bin brought to me upon this subject was ye last weeke, ag^t^ Sr John Eustace (brother to Sr Maurice), Clerke of ye Crowne for ye province of Leinster, & I am now upon examination thereof; but I know they are so quick in getting pardons out of England, that I doe expect y^r^ L^p^ will hear of some applications made there, even before I can come to a true knowledge of that matter. I doe therefore desire y^r^ L^p^, that if any thing of this nature should be offered at, you would please to obstruct it, & that there may not be any L̃re signed either to pardon faults past, or to grant any Reversion of this Office. The Truth is, ye people here are miserably impoverished by the exactions, & unless some example be made there will never be any reformation, as I am sure, on ye other side, a litle severity will infallibly cure it throughout ye whole Kingdome, & I know not any thing will so much recomend his Maties Governm^t^ to ye people as ye punishing of some of these oppressors. Mr Godolphin is very suddenly goeing for England, therefore, if y^r^ L^p^ will please that any thing of his buisness may be suspended till you speak wth him (who will informe you more particularly then I can by L̃re), it will be of no small benefitt to his Maties Service.

I doe also intreat y^r^ L^p^ will appoint Mr. Bridgeman to putt a stop to any thing of this kind that may pass at ye other Secretary's Office.

Digitized by Google

CLII.—The Earl of Essex to Sir Oliver St George.[a]

Sr, Dublin Castle, May 23, '74.

There was one Martin French, a Frier, whom I have formerly recomended to yr protection. He is very usefull to me, & hath lately given us very good Intelligence of ye Actings of Priests & Titular Bpps in those parts. Having about a month since published a second proclamation for all Romish Titular Bpps, etc., & Friers to depart, & ye day limited for their goeing being past, I now remind you of this Martine French, to take care of him & see that no harm happen to him. I also desire you to give him ten pounds, either all at once, or five pounds now and two months hence five pounds more, as you thinke convenient, & if you please to appoint any body in Dublin to receive it, I shall there repay it to yr use.

You may doe well to give ye Mayer of Galloway a litle hint of this man, but it must be kept secrett, or otherwise He will not be able to furnish us wth such Intelligence as may be of advantage to me.

I have ordered Mr Beecher to send you ye protection you desired for one of ye Torys.

CLIII.—The Earl of Essex to Lord Conway.[b]

My Lord, Dublin Castle, May 26, '74.

I have recd yr Lps of ye 19th of May, & have also recoverd ye other of ye 2d. I presume that before this Lre will arrive, my Ld Trear. & my Lord Ranelagh have both of them recd my Lres dated ye sixth of this month, wherein I am sure I have fully demonstrated

[a] First Baronet of Carrickdrumneck, 1666; Commissioner for settling the affairs of Ireland; d. 1695.

[b] See Conway's letter of May 19.

Digitized by Google

my sense concerning ye support of my Lord Ranelagh's Undertaking, & in such Terms as I conceive cannot be displeasing to any reasonable man, & have therein said nothing but what both is, & ever was, my opinion, viz., That I doe not know a better piece of service that hath bin performed since his Majesties restauration then this, in case they goe through wth it, yet I must confess I have ever bin uneasy to finde things in so much obscurity, that neither his Majestie nor myselfe could upon any solid grounds understand ye State of ye Treãry. I am sworne by ye Oath of my Office to doe Justice to all his Majesties people, & I am sure no consideration whatever shall ever bribe or terrify me from doeing my duty. My Lord Ranelagh hath undertaken severall Debts & other Paym^ts^, & if I mistake not, It is my part, being Lieutenant, to see him performe. How is it possible, then, for me to doe that Right to all men, wch my Place obligeth me to doe, unless I know in what state their Undertaking is, & what materialls they have to compleat their worke, for wch I am glad we have at length obtained an Ord^r^? As my Lord Ranelagh hath found ye Utmost of my assistance hitherto for ye carrying on his buisness, so neither shall He ever finde me failing to him in any thing that He can reasonably aske. This I have said so often, as I thinke it needlesse to repeat.

Y^r^ L^p^ tells me that my Ld Treãr. is not alltogether satisfied wth something that I writt in a Lr̃e of ye 31 of March. The Truth is, having then an occasion to make a Return to my Ld Treãr. of some Ord^rs^ relating to ye Farm^rs^ & to quicken them in their paym^ts^, I tooke that opportunity to tell his L^p^ that My Lord Ranelagh, too, and his partners, were not so forward as they ought to be, & did adde, that in case they should not for ye future take a litle more care, I should be forced to make some formall representac̃on to his Majestie of that matter. This I did after my Lr̃e of ye 17th to my Lord of Arlington. Yet did I conceive therein shew nothing of disrespect to my Ld Trear, for it is my Rule to obey my Master's Orders punctually. At my coming away out of England, I desired ye King to tell me what person I should hold my constant Intelli-

Digitized by Google

gence wth concerning affairs in Ireland, & he directed me to my Lord of Arlington. How should I my selfe make choice of any to my owne liking for holding correspondence w^th^, & not obey his Majesties comands? I should make myself Master, & not Servant, & dispose ye buisness into another Tract then his Majestie himselfe thought fitt. I confess, for my owne part, I have ever bin of opinion that his Majesties affairs receive much prejudice by not suffering them constantly to run in their owne channells; that is to say, Matters of ye Revenue perpetually to run through my Lord Treasurer's hands, Questions of Gifts and Grants through my Lord Keeper's, Affairs of State & Governm^t^ through ye Secretary's; and of this my opinion I have four or five months agoe given his Majestie a hint in one of my Lr̃es, but having never rec̃d any direction tp communicate his Majesties buisness to any other then my Lord of Arlington, I have constantly (as a good servant ought to do) kept that course; nay, that I have bin so far from declining my Lord Treasurer, that I have taken all advantage to reduce ye buisness into his hands.

* * * * *

Next as for ye representac̃on wch I made in my Lord of Arlington's Lr̃e so long before that to my Lord Treasurer, wch seems to be ye point ill taken. I say this, that my Lord of Arlington, as Secretary of State, is ye private way of conveighing my observation of Things here to his Majestie; that that Lr̃e was not a formall representac̃on, such as I meant in my Lord Treasurers Lr̃e, where I said that unless they tooke more care I should be forced to make a formall representac̃on, wch I meant a representac̃on from myselfe & Councell here upon Examination & prooffs of those points wherein we should have found them failing in their performances. Upon ye whole, it hath never bin my way to make large professions, or use much Courtship towards ye persons themselves, how great soever, tho' I will never be wanting in all civilities as are fitt, especially towards ye present Lord Treasurer, for whom I have a great value, & I doe assure y^r^ L^p^ in some of my Lr̃es to his Majestie (whereof one is

Digitized by Google

here instanced) I have not neglected to doe my Lord Treär. right, wch I take to be a more generous way of shewing my respect to him then by smooth or flattering expressions directed to himselfe; & y^r^ L^p^ may upon all occasions confirme him in ye beliefe that I am very trully his faithfull Servant, as you may likewise depend on me to be, &c.

CLIV.—Lord Aungier to the Earl of Essex.

May it please yo^R^ Ex^cie^, Lond., June 6th, 1674.

Some coñands from ye Duke of Ormond haveing kept me here a fewe dayes longer then I intended, I cannot forbeare, while I am in this place, giveing yor Ex^cy^ my observations. The Duke of Lauderdale is created Earle of Guilford, Viscount Netlebed,[a] & Baron of Petersham, & it is given out by his friends that this is done to qualifye him for ye Privileidge of being tryed as a Peere, that he may not be run down by a Vote of ye House of Coñons. Others imagine It is to qualifye him for some greate Employ^mt^ out of his owne Country, and there are those who will have him be Lieu^t^ of Ireld. But they who have an opinion of his Judgm^t^ believe he aymes not at it, And some of yor Ex^cyes^ friends thinke this reporte is given out by some of yor Ex^cyes^ Enemyes, concluding your Ex^cy^ may take it tenderly, & upon it take some hastye resolution wch may displease His Matie, & give them opportunitye of making roome for themselves.

* * * * *

CLV.—Charles R. to the Earl of Essex.

Charles R.,

Right Trusty and Right Welbeloved Cousin and Counceller, Wee greet you well. Whereas, by Our Letters Patents under

[a] *Sic.*

Digitized by Google

Our Great Seale of England, bearing date the first day of December in the 23rd yeare of Our Reigne, Wee have given and granted unto Our Deare and Entirely Beloved Cousin Prince Rupert, his Executors, Administrators, and Assignes, the Sole Power and Priviledge to use exercise and enjoy the new Arts or Inventions of converting into Steele all manner of edged Tooles, Files, and other Instruments forged and formed in soft Iron, or any part of the said Tooles, Files, or other Instruments after they are soe forged or framed; As also for the like converting of all manner of Iron Wier after it is drawne, and alsoe of preparing and softning all Cast and Melted Iron, soe that it may be filed & wrought as forged Iron is; and of tincturing of Copper upon Iron as to him or them shall seem meet; To have and enjoy the same for and during the terme of fourteen yeares according to the Act of Parliament in that case made and provided. Our will and pleasure is, And Wee doe hereby require and Authorise you to give Order for ye passing of Letters Patents under the Great Seale of that Our Kingdome, containing Our Grant unto Our said most Deare Cousin Prince Rupert, his Executors, Administrators, and Assignes of the said Exercise and use of the said Arts and Inventions in that Our Kingdome for the terme of fourteen yeares in the same manner, and as fully and beneficially as is contained in Our said Letters Patents under Our Great Seale of England. And for soe doing this shall be unto you and to all other Our Officers and Ministers whom it may concerne a sufficient Warrant. And soe Wee bid you heartily Farewell. Given at Our Court at Windsor the 11th day of June, 1679, in the Six and Twentieth yeare of Our Reigne.

* * * * *

Digitized by Google

CLVI.—Lord Conway to the Earl of Essex.

May it please yor Excel^cy^, London, 15 June, 1674.

* * * * *

In the evening his Matie cald me into his Bed chamber, and spoke to me of many things to be cõunicated to yor Excel^ce^, and cõmanded me to remember him to you very kindly, and afterwards did me so much honor in parting from him that every body in the roome wondered what the matter was.

After this I waited upon *Williamson*,[a] who is struck in with *Trear.* and *Lodderdale*, or makes them believe so, and that he will abandon *Arlington*, towards whom *Duke* is implacable, and will not let him rest till he be sent *on an Embassy*.[b]

* * * * *

CLVII.—Sir William Temple to the Earl of Essex.

My Lord, Shene, June 20, '74.

* * * * *

I thinke, of all persons, I need make you the least professions, because y^r^ L^sp^ knows, very well, upon what titles you are long since possest of my service and esteeme, and how particular a man I have ever beene in the choyse of those persons to whom I profess them. How I doe it to y^r^ L^sp^ upon all occasions were better told you by any other man; 'tis enough for mee to say how confident I am you will ever keepe them by the same qualities they were at

[a] Williamson was a cypher in the Government.

[b] He went with Ossory, in November, to the Hague, to treat for William's betrothal to Mary, and to induce him to make peace with France.

Digitized by Google

first required, and that how often or seldome wee may meete in the course of our lifes, yet whenever wee doe wee shall bee the same wee parted.

* * * * *

Becaus I see, in a letter of my Lady's to my sister, what opinion she has receaved from the talke has beene heere of *Loderdale's* succeeding *Essex,* and suddenly; I shall tell y^r^ L^sp^ that I cannot beleeve wee are at all ripe for such resolutions, though some, perhaps, may have had it in design, as of a piece with more of that kinde; there are others would perhaps bee glad to see *Essex provoked* to doe some *peevish* thing to anger *King*—wch might bee made use of to *remove* him and clap *Orrery* in, but this I have answered to one of my friends will not bee done, and without it I doe not see how either of the other can. Upon many discourses that concerne y^r^ L^sp^ heere I resolved to take occasion to know the King's thoughts of you in generall before I wente, wch I thought might bee for y^r^ satisfaction (and the King's service) to know at a time when I finde you are entertained from other hands with discourses very different. The last time I saw the King, upon His saying, that when hee wente to looke for a person that was both a wise and an honest man, hee did not know where to finde him, I tooke occasion to say, I was sure hee had one in His service that was both, and that deserved to bee valued the more for these qualitys that were so seldome mett with, and named my Lord of Essex. The king said hee was as worthy a man as any hee knew, and served him as well as any man in his service. I said I was sure he was not only very fit and able to serve his Maj^ty^ there but heere too whenever there was occasion. The King said Hee was of my minde, and should bee very glad to have him heer, but that Hee did not knowe how to spare him in Irelande. I tell y^r^ L^sp^ thus much of the very words that past, by wch and by the rest I am confident you are what you desire to bee in His Maj^ties^ esteeme, and that is the pointe I think you had best trust to, and to the preserving it by the same

Digitized by Google

means you have gained it; for the rest to make courte as much and as personally as one can to the King, to live fairly with all the Ministers in the charges of a Courte, but to stande upon one's owne legs and the merits of serving well, and where all thees will not carry one the best I thinke is to bee content to alight and bee quiett at home. The men of Courte and ambition can talke of other ways, but none into wch I believe y^r L^sps temper and thoughts can runn, and besides, the servitude in them is not to be endured by a man that has bread enough at home, & I doe not thinke they agree either with the distance you are at or the uncertain changes of our scene at Courte.

I wish y^r L^sp very heartyly the advances of honour and fortune you propose to y^rself, and wherever I am shall bee glad of the occasion to express the esteem & passion wherewith, &c.

* * * * *

CLVIII.—The Earl of Essex to Sir Henry Coventry.

S^r, Dublin Castle, June 24, '74.

In ye y^rs of ye 15th, wch I have but newly received, you gave me an intimation of a warr^t or Letter coming to y^r Office to renew that part of my Lord of Orrery's old patent concerning ye Comand of ye Militia in Munster.[a] I returne you many thanks for this signification. Pretty confident I am that, if ye King will consider it, He will not think fitt to renew this power to his L^p. It hath bin, I confess, one of ye most troublesome parts I have had to deale wth here, to quiet ye importunities of people for setting up this Militia, & indeed I have bin faine to use all ye Artifice I could in it, so to shift it off as men might not have a jealousy of me that I did not sufficiently favor ye Protestant Interest. I writt a Letter to his Majestie on ye first of December last past, a great part whereof was

[a] On August 22 Essex writes to thank H. Coventry for using his influence in this matter.

Digitized by Google

upon this very subject, wch I have here caused to be transcribed, that you may mind his Majestie thereof, & in it have said as much as I can upon this occasion. My Lord of Orrery has often by his Lres sollicited me to forme this Militia, & I know, if he be empowered to command that in Munster, ye first thing you will hear of, so soon as he arrives, will be his calling of them together, & I am sure it will necessitate me to be afore hand wth him, & to doe ye like to all ye military throughout ye Kingdome, or otherwise He will be looked upon as ye great Patrone of ye Protestant Interest.

In my Lord of Ormond's Time, upon occasion of some plotts, his Grace thought some of these men so far from being fitt to be trusted as he disarmed many of them, & by that means he lost so much of his creditt among ye Protestants here as he will hardly ever recover a thorough esteeme of being truly affected to that party, & I know that, even to this day, It is objected to him that he disarmed y^e Protestants. I would be loath to be involved in y^e like difficulties, & therefore I conceive Tis better to foresee a Thing & prevent it, then to hazard y^e entangling my selfe in perplexities. Tis very obvious what my Lord of Orrery aimes at in y^e Thing, namely = y^e putting Arms into y^e hands of Cromwellists,[a] wth whom he has yet some litle remains of Creditt, & likewise to make himselfe popular, as if by this Militia (whereof He would appear y^e first mover) y^e Protestant Interest were more now then ever strengthened. Adde to this, that y^e proposall of Trained bands here hath bin touched upon by ye House of Commons, in this last Sessions, wth some approbation, & so by this He would make himselfe a litle ye more gratefull there. But by what I have already said you may discerne into what inconveniences this will bring me, & indeed I know ye Temper of men's minds here so well, as I must not suffer him to have ye Creditt of Establishing this Force; besides, I must be very tender in appearing any waies to obstruct it. For these reasons I desire, when you speake wth his Majestie upon this sub-

[a] On August 22 Essex says he has heard from both Conway and Ranelagh that this is Orrery's intention.

Digitized by Google

ject, that by all means it be not known to any that I doe stand in opposition to it, for should it in ye least take Vent, all ye Repute I have since my coming here gained wth ye Protestants would at one stroak be destroyd; and if my Lord of Orrery in ye least apprehends that I have thus appeared in it, I am certeine He would quickly blaze it abroad to lessen me here. Having, therefore, shewd you how tender ye point is, I shall leave it to y^r^ own managem^t^ as you thinke best for his Majesties service.

In case of any Invasion, I conceive this Militia may be of great use, & upon such occasions ye men, doubtless, will fight well enough for ye preservation of their owne Estates; but as for any Thing at home, ye Army is now abundantly sufficient to keep all quiett, so as considering ye circumstances of Affaires in England, & also ye present motions in Scotland, his Matie may, in my humble opinion, be pleased to take agen into consideration what I have offerd in my Lr̃e of ye first of Decem^br^ to him, herew^th^ transmitted, & I doe not desire that any Thing, as coming from me, should therefore have ye more sway, but receive its force so far only as it is grounded upon good reason. Sr Arthur Forbese, being now in England, knows this matter very fully, & all ye care & caution I have used in it. You may communicate things freely to him; if his Majestie shall thinke fitt to speake wth him in this business, I conceive He may explaine it more perfectly then any other that I know.

* * * * *

Here is, wth a flying Seale, enclosed a Lr̃e to Sr Arthur; if you finde cause you may please to give it him, or if this matter of ye Militia be asleep, you may then throw it away.

CLIX.—Francis Godolphin to the Earl of Essex.

My Lord, London, July 16th, '74.

Y^e^ convenience of this bearer gives mee ye liberty to write y^r^

Digitized by Google

Ex^cy more freely of our affairs here then I could well doe by ye Ordinary pacquet. It seems to be ye interest of those people who desire ye breaking of ye parliam^t that your Ex^cy were recalled from that governm^t, and as they, despairing to divert ye King from his resolution of their meeting in November, doe by all means labour to render that meeting ineffectual, by doing those things in ye mean time which they imagine will soe far disoblige & exasperate them as to make a rupture between his Matie & them almost unavoidable (I might instance in a late proclamac̃on, whereby ye penalties of Recusants, upon conviction, are made much lighter then they formerly were by law); soe they, distrusting to obtain ye King's consent to your Ex^cy's removal, doe underhand foment & countenance any little complaint against you, give about reports to your disadvantage, & procure such grants and Orders from hence as they imagine will bee unpleasing to you, & by these means endeavour to render ye government soe uneasy to you that you shall petition to bee recalled, of wch sort I reckon ye last Order concerning ye armies march into ye North ; ye Author of wch council, I suspect, designed as much your Ex^cy's trouble as ye King's service, in wch cases your Ex^cy might possibly find very good effects of applying your selfe immediately to his Matie, with whom your opinion would weigh more than most of your Adversaryes, especially in matters relating to that Country, whereof your Ex^cy must needs be a better judge ; and at ye worst you will disappoint them of their chiefe ayme when you seem to approve what you cannot remedy ; your most friends not having credit enough to prevent such hardships from beeing put upon you as they desire, & as your Ex^cy may perhaps expect, for ye Duke governs absolutely, & I think my Lord Treãr. & D. of Lauderdale derive all their favour from his countenance, & will signify noe longer then they are subservient to his designe, yet ye former of those two seems to stand a little more on his owne bottome, & dislikes among his friends every thing that is done, though people think, with reason enough, his Lop̃p̃ has a good share in ye advice, & however they may differ in their private capacity, in Council

Digitized by Google

those three are very unanimous & scarcely ever disagree. Mr Secr. Coventry does little more then ye necessary busines of his Office. Sr Jos. Williamson is understood to bee a creature of Lauderdale's, as he was before of Clifford, who made him Plenipot., not onely without My Lord Arl. help, but agst his consent, though they are willing to have it thought (as likewise his new intended promotion) ye sole acts of his old master. Lauderdale, Northampton, & of late Anglesey, have been publickly voyced to succeed your Excy, though I cannot learn that any one but Seymour was ever proposed in Council, who was never talkt on for it in publick. L. Anglesey, L. Ranelagh, L. Conway, or ye Speaker, they think may serve their turn well enough in Ireland, but they will find difficulty in bringing it to effect while your Excy continues soe well in ye King's esteem, unlesse it move first from your selfe. Most people think ye houses will meet at ye time appointed, but not sit long. L. Lauderdale does undertake to endeavour to clear himselfe to several eminent members of those aspersions for wch hee conceives hee had incurred their displeasure ye last Session. I heard my L. Berkeley had offered ye D. of Portsmouth his house at Mittenham, on condicon hee might bee sent once more into Ireland. I have herewith sent your Excy a few new books & fashionable Pamphlets, some of wch may deserve your Excy's perusal. Sr H. Capell & Sr Arthur Forbes are still at ye Bathe, in whose absence I have ventured ye rather to give your Excy this Account of ye present posture of our Court, for which I humbly beg your Excy's pardon & fayr interpretacon.

CLX.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, July 18th [1674.]

In my last to yr Lp I promist to send yr Lp a List of ye Non-Con-

Digitized by Google

formist preachers of ye Scottish Nation, as have bin forward of late to returne home.[a]

The enclosed papers will informe you of something of this kind, as also ye news, wch is spread among them; there is likewise a Copy of a Letter of ye ArchB^p^ of St. Andrews to ye ArchB^p^ of Canterbury, wherein is not any great matter that I can observe, & whether there were really such a Letter writt or no I cannot tell, but if there were, you may see what Intelligence these men have, & if not, Tis maliciously suggested to disquiet ye minds of people. As I hear any thing further that is of moment, I shall not faile to comunicate it to y^r^ L^p^ & remaine.

[Enclosure.]

COPY OF FORGED LETTER OF ARCHBISHOP SHARP TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R^ GRACE,

Albeit I kept long silence, & my correspondence with y^r^ Grace hath not bin soe frequent as formerly, yet like ye son of Crœsus I must cry out when my Mother ye Church is in hazard, & I believe if I should hold my peace ye very stones would speake, for ye gospell is now at stake; we are assaulted not only by Foreigners, our old enemies ye Phanaticks, who were never of us, but also alass my Lord there is Fire in our owne bedstrawe, they are all crying for a generall Convocation of ye Clergie upon no other Acc^t^, but that to shake off our Yoak, & break our bonds asunder.. I hope y^r^ Grace will consider ye owne hazard, & not forgett what disorders followed in England upon our distempers in Scotland; when our Neighbor's House is a Fire Tis Time to looke to our owne, their great aime and designe is at me, who God knows like Paul have spent myselfe in ye service of ye Church & am willing yet to spend what remains, & I believe that no man can say I have run in vain. If I be not supported by his Maties speciall favor through

[a] This was sent July 13.

Digitized by Google

y^r^ Graces recomendation I shall inevitably suffer shipwreck, wch I doe not value upon my owne acc^t^, but that I see through my sides ye Church will be wounded. The only remedy is to procure a Lr̃e from his Majestie to discharge ye Convocation, wch will calme this storme, & qnench all these ambitious & seditious designes, wch are now on Foot to disturbe ye peace of ye Church; they are already come to that height of insolence, that one Mr Cant a presbyter hath shaken off all fear of God and his canonicall Oathes & did call me a great grievance of ye Church. My dear Lord & brother, bestirre y^r^ selfe in this matter, & remember ye woe that is pronounced ag^t^ them that are at ease whilst others are in distress for recomending this to y^r^ care.

I am, my Lord,
Y^r^ Graces affectionate brother &
faithfull servant,
ST. ANDREWS.

To the
ArchB^p^ of Canterbury.

CLXI.—SIR ARTHUR FORBES TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EX^CY^, Bathe, This 25 Juli, 1679.

Nowe *King, Duke, Treasurer* sime resolved to invite *Parliam^t^* to toune, all speeke kindli of him [Essex] ase of a parson yusfule to the Kinge's sarvise. *Lodderdale,* who is hire, simes to be of the same mind, professes kindness to *Essex,* and desired me to asure hime the reportes wiche ware rased ware malisius.

Arthur Forbese expecktet sudanli to leve this kingdom, *King* having signified so muche to him latli. *Scotch* are note in a good yumur buy whate I can lerne.

Essex is well here. All his frendes wish his still continuing whare he is ase a parson yusefule bothe to the Kinge and kingdom.

* * * * *

Digitized by Google

CLXII.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, July 28, '74.

In a Letter from my Lord of Orrery, dated at Marleborough ye 17th of July, there was this passage :—"On Wednesday ye 15th of July, in ye evening, my Lord Treasurer brought me ye King's Order, signed by his Majestie, directed to Mr Atturney Genr^ll^ or Mr Sollicitor, forthw^th^ to prepare a patent to give me all those powers in Military Affairs in ye province of Munster, under ye great Seale of England, that I had formerly, while presid^t^ of Munster, under ye great Seale of Ireland." Upon ye receipt of this I sent for a Copy of my Lord of Orrery's Commission, & upon perusall thereof I finde He has, in ye absence of ye Chiefe Governor out of that province, ye comand of all Forces there as Generall. The words are, "To raise, gather, levy, & assemble from Time to Time such of our subjects within our s^d^ province of Munster as to you or either of you (viz., Himselfe or Vicepresid^t^), shall be thought expedient for ye service afores^d^. And also to have ye leading Goverm^t^ & Comand of all our Martiall forces already residing & placed within ye s^d^ Province." His L^p^ hath very often since my coming presst me, wth much earnestness, to put ye Militia in a posture there, & indeed I have bin in some difficultie to know how to answer him, and yet not appear unwilling to forward that worke, wch ye generallity of ye protestants in this Kingdome are vehemently sett upon. My reasons ag^t^ ye forming of this Force were so fully expressd in a Letter I writt to ye King himselfe as I can adde litle to it, & therefore for that part I shall say no more, but herew^th^ transmitt you a Copy of so much of my Letter as concerned this subject. Now, should his L^p^ come over armed wth such a Comission as He pretends to, He would undoubtedly, so soon as he arrives, call together ye Militia of that province & exercise them, & then I shall be putt upon this streight, either to deny doeing ye like in ye other three provinces, & thereby loose all ye Interest

Digitized by Google

I have bin gaining with ye protestants, or by forming them into Troops & Companys, to putt Arms into such men's hands, as should any disorders happen in England or Scotland I dare not rely upon; & whether I doe ye one or ye other this will certainly fall out, that my Lord of Orrery first setting up that Militia in Munster, He will be regarded as ye great patron of ye protestant Interest, & thereby become popular wth that party, & I shall be looked upon, if I refuse to doe ye like in other parts, as a man ill affected to them, or if I doe it, as one who was necessitated thereunto by his example.

The misfortune of this Affair relating to ye Militia is such as I dare not seem to oppose it, & yet I am sufficiently convinced of ye hazard & danger thereof to his Maties service, & have therefore all along managed my selfe, so as in appearance to approve of & like it. However, in my thoughts I was utterly resolved ag^t^ it, & truly I have bin soe lucky as at present to lay it asleep in all men's minds, none having for these three or four months so much as spoken of it, nor I believe will, till his L^p^ revive that matter againe.

I looke upon ye Army now here to be fully sufficient to keep all things quiett at home, yet if any apprehension should be of an Invasion by a Forreigner, this Militia would doubtlesse be of very good use; but as to our selves, especially whilst there are any discontents either in England or Scotland, it will certeinly be ye most pernicious Thing imaginable. If his Majestie doe therefore resolve to proceed in this Comission to my Lord of Orrery, ye only Expedient I can thinke of to obviate ye raising ye Militia will be this, that an order be dispatched together wth ye Comission, or at least sent so soon as may be after it, requiring his L^p^ not to Act any thing in relation to ye Militia of that province without a particular Comand from his Majestie, & that I may have a copy of that Ord^r^ sent to me.

Your L^p^ may perhaps thinke of some properer course, but this is ye best that occurres to my apprehension, & I earnestly intreat y^r^ L^p^ that it may not be known whence this Advice comes, for

Digitized by Google

should it ever take vent twould turne much to my prejudice, & make me less able to doe his Majestie service here among his Protestant subjects.

CLXIII.—The Earl of Essex to Sir Arthur Forbes.

S^r^, Dublin Castle, July 30: '74.

I have rẽcd y^rs^ dated at Bath ye 18th of July, & have according to y^r^ advice spoken wth Captain Cunningham to setle a correspondence in ye North, that I may have what notice he can give me of Motions there. I have had Intelligence from thence of divers of ye phanatick preachers, who of late have bin observed to goe back into Scotland, & some of them are returned hither againe, & I doe know they are at this present a litle more then ordinary busy among ye people; about a week since I gave my Lord of Arlington a List of severall of their names, & that part of Scotland they did frequent, so that if they thought it worth ye doeing, some of those Incendiarys might be apprehended.

I perceive there are those in England, and such as have great influence on Affairs at this present, who are not at all pleased wth my being here, & tho' I finde they cannot alter ye King in relation to my Removall, yet they doe prevaile to have many Things done that may give me distaste, and this I am confident wth an Intent to make me so weary of ye Governm^t^ as to desire a dismission; but since this is their Aime, I doe assure them I will be no Lord Robarts, for when I once finde that things are done on purpose to make me angry, I will not be provoked, if it be but to disappoint those who designe my prejudice.

* * * * *

Tis somewhat strange to me that when a Thing is well it cannot be let alone. Is not ye Nation here in perfect quiett? Are not all men satisfied that the Army we now have is more then sufficiently

Digitized by Google

able to keep all secure within ourselves? Is not every body sensible too that this Army now is in a much better posture then ever it hath bin since his Majesties restauration? Nay, as to my L^d^ of Orrery's particular, does not He as Major Genr^ll^ comand not only ye Forces in Munster, but elsewhere, why then this extraordinary Commission? or indeed, since his Majestie hath bin pleased to trust me in ye Goverm^t^, it may seem a litle strange that I was never consulted therein before It were ordered. I write freely my thoughts to you, having so good an opportunity for their safe conveyance. These Expostulations are only between you & me, for, as I said before, lett them doe what they will, I will be so cross as not to shew my selfe froward upon it; only when a thing happens as this relating to ye Militia, wch I conceive may be mischievious to his Majesties affaires, my duty obligeth me to represent such inconveniences, but as to any affront to my selfe, I shall waite my own opportunitie to doe my business wth that circumspection as may make it more successfull.

You see ye freedome wherew^th^ I impart my mind to you, & by it you may judge ye reallity & Truth of my being.

CLXIV.—The Earl of Essex to Sir A. Forbes.

Dublin Castle, Aug. 11, '74.

[Essex perceives that there is much communication going on between "the discontented party now in Scotland" and their friends in the north of Ireland, and a "perpetual going to and fro of those preaching fellows"; he has therefore strengthened the garrisons in Londonderry, Charlemont, and Carrickfergus.]

* * * * *

Digitized by Google

CLXV.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Danby.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, Aug. 14, 1674.

By the hands of my Lord Ranelagh I received ye favor of y^r^ L^ps^ most oblieging Letter, dated ye 30th of July, wherein you are pleased to give me so many assurances of y^r^ kindnesse, as I confesse I cannot wish for more, &, indeed, Tis one of ye greatest satisfactions could befall me, who have long desired ye honour of a firme & settled friendship wth y^r^ L^p^, to find it now so well established; & since those Two worthy persons you name, my Lord Conway & Sr Arth^r^ Forbese have bin instrumentall & usefull to me herein, I doe assure y^r^ L^p^ that this part they have done shall much endear them to me.

* * * * *

CLXVI.—William Harbord to the Earl of Essex.

May it please y^R^ Excellency, Windesore Castle, 22 Aug. 1674.

* * * * *

This day I gave his Ma^ty^ y^r^ Letter wch he was pleased to reade wth great patience, & afterwards expressed all the kindnesse Imaginable for you, saying That he was abundantly satisfyed wth your cominge & care of His affaires, & y^t^ he heartely wished he could have you both there & here. *King* told me y^t^ he would in a few dayes discourse wth me about the *regiment, & privately betwixt us two give you directions int,* & that he had spoken somwhat to *Forbese* of it already. *Fa. Patrick* was extremely inquisitive wheither that I had not brought him any Letters from *Conway,* & wheither *Conway* had not writt to *Kg* by me, whereby *Essex* may be able to finde y^t^ tis a plot laid by *Conway* to runn *Essex*[a] into

[a] The first distinct notice that Conway is in the scheme against Essex.

Digitized by Google

some inconvenience about *Fa. Patrick*, and undoubtedly *Con.*, *Ran.*, *Or.*, & *Trea.* endeavour all they can to weaken *Essex* w^th^ *King* and *people;* & though I could not, by reason of ye great Company, speake much to *Arl.*, yet he told me y^t^ he was wounded by his Enemies, but y^t^ *Essex* was wounded by his friends, & promised me this evening to come to particulars, but the post going away by 7 o' Clock, I must differ it till ye next post.

* * * * *

CLXVII.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Danby.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, Aug. 23, '74.

On Fryday last I received ye favour of y^r^ L^ps^ dated ye 14th of this moneth, ye substance of it relating to a Comission intended to be granted to ye Earle of Orrery, w^ch^, importing more then was designed by his Majestie or known to y^r^ L^p^, has, I finde by ye Letter, receivd some stop. I must also acquainte y^r^ L^p^ that some or other have not dealt well wth you in telling y^r^ L^p^ that my Lord of Orrery did voluntarily surrender his patent of ye military power in Munster, whereupon y^r^ L^p^ writes that his Majestie would be glad to gratify his L^p^ herein, especially because his L^p^ did surrender that patent of ye Goverm^t^ of Munster without being demanded of him, & wch He might have kept wth very extraordinary powrs, whereas indeed his Military Comission, as well ye others, was by his Majesties Comand to be vacated, and had he refused to surrender, care would have bin taken to supersede it, as will appear by my Instructions, & Mr Atturney & Mr Sollicitors Advice how to execute them (here inclosed). The words of my 18th Instruction are these:

Whereas we have thought fitt, for divers good considerations us thereunto moving, to suppress ye Civill Courts & Military powrs of ye Two Presidents of Conagh^t^ & Munster in that our Kingdome (as (we shall more particularly by our royal Letters signify to them),

Digitized by Google

we have thought fitt hereby to direct you to proceed to ye suppressing of ye s^d^ powers accordingly. And we doe therefore hereby authorise & impowr you to conforme ye practice of Civill causes in those our said provinces to ye method of ye Laws generally observed through ye whole Kingdome. And for ye due regulation & ordering of ye Military powr there, to erect, instead of ye said Presidents, Governors or Deputys of Countys for that purpose, wth such pow'rs & Instructions for ye Administration of their respective charges as you shall thinke necessary for that end, & as near as you can agreeable to ye powrs given to ye Deputy Lieutenants in England, & to name thereunto persons of known Loyalty, Courage, & prudence in that our Kingdome, To be continued during our pleasure.

By all wch It is apparent that his Maties resolutions were totally to suppress these Presidencys, & for ye Military part thereof to leave it wholly to me to erect & nominate Govern^rs^ of Countys wth such powrs as I should thinke necessary for that end. I did proceed to ye execution of that part, wch related to ye presidencys; my Lord of Orrery being then in ye Kingdome did readily resigne, my Lord Berkeley & Ld Kingston being both in England, I transmitted copies of what my L^d^ of Orrery had done, as formes for their resignation, they making some difficulties have not yet as I hear complied, nevertheless my Lord of Kingston hath obtained a Letter for a compensation, altho' ye patent be still in being. For ye constituting of Govern^rs^ of Countys in pursuance of ye latter part of my Instruction the paper I have herew^th^ enclosed will show y^r^ L^p^ what progress I have made in it, & upon what Acc^t^ I desisted.

If his Majestie shall thinke fitt to grant my Lord of Orrery a Comission, as others have for ye Goverm^t^ of Countys, & this to extend to two, three, four, or all ye Countys within ye Province of Munster, that his Majestie may be acquainted wth ye formes (now in Use) of these Comissions, & ye scope of ye powers conteyned in them, I have herew^th^ transmitted a Copy of one (There are some few others of an antiquated Stile, of that sort my Lord of Donegall has one for Carrigfergus). I confess I doe much wonder why my

Digitized by Google

Lord of Orrery, being Major Genrll of ye Army, should desire any such Comission, wch is looked upon here as very insignificant, & indeed is soe; for I believe a man may be chiefe Governr seven years, & not know unless by Accidt who are Governors of Countys. I have bin now above Two years in this place, & I am sure I cannot tell who they all are, for they never act or doe any Thing. However I concieve for his Majesties sake it may be most proper that ye Comission doe pass here, & this because it may be enquired whether some nobleman (as, for instance, my Lord of Tyrone hath for ye County of Waterford) have not already comissions for ye same, wch should they be thus superseded, would unnecessarily disobliege those persons, who are at present possest of these Comands, how inconsiderable soever in themselves, yet could not but take it a litle to heart to be turned out of them. I cannot conclude without giving yr Lp my humble thanks for ye favor you express in these words of ye Letter, That you are agt any Thing new without my approbation to it.

CLXVIII.—William Harbord to the Earl of Essex.

May it please yr Excelly, London, 25 Aug. 1674.

* * * * *

I am more & more convinced yt *Tr: Orr: Con:* & *Ran:* are in Combination against *Essex* & endeavour to put all the tricks Imaginable upon him, & have attempted to set up an *Irish secretary* for that purpose, but I cannot as yet learne the man.

At Windesore I found great Complaints, yt *Essex* his *lady* had not visited *Queen*, & yt If it were not donne It would be ill taken, where upon I gave my thoughts freely to *her* about It, and *she* doth intend to doe it.

* * * * *

Digitized by Google

If you have not already, I think It necessary that y^r^ Excellency send y^r^ thanks to Mr Secretary Coventry for his great Care of y^r^ Concerns at Court on all occasions, & particularly about *Orrery;* To-morrow Sr. Arthur, Sr. Henry, & my self meen to put things in a way upon his going away, wch he designes on Thursday next; I dare assure you that *Ran:* is much weakened in his Interest both w^th^ *Kg.* & *Trea:* & y^t^ *Orrery* is much worse then he, & *Kg.* hath declared his thoughts of both upon this last occasion frankly, *& to me he called it a dirty trick;* This is all at present from &c.

* * * * *

All my Letters shalbe sealed this Seale to y^r^ Excellency, & I will use it to nobody else.

CLXIX.—The Earl of Essex to Mr. William Harbord.

Mr. Harbord, Dublin Castle, Aug. 31, '74.

I have recd y^rs^ of ye 22 & 25 of Aug. I approve well of what my brother proposes concerning Mr Coke, & have writt to him to that purpose.

On Saturday last Mr Justice Johnson & Mr Justice Cusack, returning from their Circuite, gave me an Acc^t^ that among other persons condemned there was one whose name was Brown at Trim convict for murder in Time of ye Rebellion, & accordingly sentenced. Enquiring of ye particulars they made me this relation. This person, being a soldier in ye English Army, was appointed wth others by ye Govern^t^ of Trim for ye guard of a litle Castle neer that Towne, for ye convenient bringing in of Corne & other provisions to that Garrison, & he finding an opportunity to deale wth some of ye Irish betrayd that place to them, who, when they enterd, putt all ye others to ye sword. I asked ye Judges whether they

Digitized by Google

had given any Order for ye Execution; they told me they had, & that that day was appointed by their Warr^t^ for it, but yet they had left a latitude to ye Sheriff to respitt ye execution three or four days if any of ye prisners should desire a longer Time to prepare themselves to dy. It being about Ten of ye clock when I came to ye knowledge of this, 'twas too late for me to use any means that day to reprieve this prisner, so as I sent immediately for ye Copies of ye King's Letters, wch I knew had bin writt hither both in former times, & in my owne upon this subject. On perusall of them I found it clearly his Majesties intention that there should be no prosecution of persons for crimes committed in ye late war, & therefore very early on Sunday morning, without any petition from ye Prisner, or application of any body from him, I dispatched a messenger wth an Order for his Reprieve, but whether it will come Time enough or no I cannot tell, ye messenger being not yet returned. I am sure I have not neglected any Thing on my part for me to doe therein, & indeed were there nothing of ye King's Comand in ye case, I am clearly of opinion that proceedings of this sort ought absolutely to be forbidden, for if after soe many years & such diversities of changes as have happend in this Country there should be now a ripping up of Crimes, & punishm^t^ executed upon ye Offend^rs^ according to law, no man can see where it will stop, & ye insecuritie of multitudes of people, who would be awakened by such like examples, could not but endanger ye quiett of ye Kingdome.

I conceive 'twas necessary to give you a knowledge of this particular, lest some clamer might be raised in England concerning it, & that you might know both my part herein & my sense thereupon. I shall answer ye substance of y^r^ last Letter in my next, & remaine, &c.

Digitized by Google

CLXX.—William Harbord to the Earl of Essex.

May it Please y^r^ Excellency, London, 1 Sept. 1674.

On Satturday last Sir Henry Capell & my self waited on my Lady to windesor, where she wth great prudence paid her Devoirs to his Ma^ty^, Queen, Duke, & Duchesse, & resting there all Sunday begann the jurney to Alisbeury yesterday morning; I protest she did so extreamly want somebody to take care of her Equipage & to provide necessary accommodations for her, that had I not been engaged in unavoydable buissenesses I would have seen her Lad^ys^ on Ship Board; I beseech God to send her a good jurney by Land & a safe passage for Sea. Y^r^ Excellency may remember the complaint I made to you of ye hard usage I had receaved from *La North*[a], she having given my Lady some account of those my pretensions, I thought it best to acquaint her also wth what severity she had used me; I was surprised to finde at my comming over what a kinde message *La North* sent me by *Sr H. Ca.*, expressing a great desire to speake wth me; whereupon in obedience to *Essex* his Commands I went over to her w^th^ *Sr H. C.*, & then after a long Funnige[b] & abundance of Laughing at *Essex* his Lady for altering of her Resolutions, & twenty other inventions, she found out to make faults wth Freedom before me surprised me. She began a story how much she valued & Loved *Essex*, and that she had lately given a testimony of it; for that whereas she had Contracted w^th^ *Pourtsmouth* for many *jewells* for four *thowsand pownds*, *Trear.* refused to make any payment for the same unlesse the money could be raised in *Ireland;* that *King* had consented to it upon those Termes; that y^e^ *order* was *ready*, but that *La North* out of her abundant care of *Essex* had refused to conclude upon that way of payment till she could heare from *Essex ;* that, so it could not be done, *Essex* might not draw the Hatred or Displeasure of *Ports.* But to be short, her great Trust I finde is in *Orrery ;* for *Mr. Harb.* his part I dare assure *Essex*, that though probably he might make

[a] Northumberland. [b] *Sic.*

Digitized by Google

his Court & phaps advantage out of this Conjuncture, yet he will Ever prefer the *interest* of *Essex* before all Earthly considerations, & upon serious thoughts *Mr Harb.* doth *advise Essex* not to have *any hand in;* for I finde that *he* doth use all the *tricks he can* to make *Essex* uneasy, Let *Ran.* or *Con.* saye what they will; And if *Essex* should advise or Consent to ye Disputing of so great a summ, when phaps *the army* may *want it,* It might move *Essex;* & considering to whom It is to goe or the benefitt the noise of It in *Parl.* might *doe the same.* Tis *below Essex* to stand *by such wayes* If there were no *hazzard;* these are my thoughts & *humble advice, &* much more I could saye, and in God's name Let *Ran.* have the good and the ill of it, for I am confident tis a *moustrap* laid by *Orrery* & that *gang,* and therefore tis better to saye that the affaires of that kingdome are so much in want of help rather than otherwayse that It cannot be doone wth safety to his Matys affaires committed to yr Care. Yisterday ye Duke and Duchesse left windesor, ye latter being bigg wth Child, went by water to Ham & then they both dined, & this day ye King & queen did the same ; tomorrow I intend to be at ye Kings Rysing to see how matters goe ; Its believed of all Hands that ye Parliament will meete,[a] & therefore Let *Essex* take his measures accordingly. The Ld. Trear. is yet at ye Bathe & Sr John Duncombe, Ld Arlington fallen ill of ye Goute at Goring House. The Seals being signed the white staffe is to be changed ; *Fa Patrick* hath changed his Resolution of Comming for Ireland, but *Sr H. C.* my self know perfectly well that that project was contrived by *Con* and that *Essex* may judge of his good will. Its uncertain who will be Governor of Tangier, Inchqueen, Holmes, Cholmondly, Windesor are the Competitors, but the king hath not as yet declared himself. The Confederates both in Germany & flanders presse hard upon the frinche, & will its thought attempt some Considerable places to invite them to a 2d fight. The last hath put all the best families in France into Mourning, about 800

[a] It did not meet until April, 1675. Charles kept his intention of delaying its meeting absolutely secret, even from Danby.

Digitized by Google

of ye best officers & noblesse having lost their lives,[a] & Its thought near 6000 of ye soldiery. The prince of Conde is much blamed for pressing so farr and so long whereby ye Germans had time to come in; & as soon as they did nothing stood before them; & indeed they gave no quarter, & particularly to ye Suisses, wch was thought a designe to fright that people from fighting against ye Emperor & to unite ye Germans in this quarrell; the prince of orange hath gotten great Reputation in all the Courts of Europe, & particularly at home; this is all at present from, &c.

CLXXI.—The Earl of Essex to Mr. William Harbord.

M^r^. Harbord, Dublin Castle, Sep^t^ 2: 1674.

* * * * *

You mention a proposall of a bleu ribbon & something of proffit, wherein my Lord of Arlington is willing to be instrumentall. For my own part I have neither coveteous nor ambitious aimes, yet, however, any favour that his Majesty shall thinke fitt to confere on me cannot but be extream wellcome. As for the first of these, my estats being (as you know) but in a moderate condition, I fear, unless joyned wth ye other, 'tis somewhat too great for me; but as to the other, it may be a considerable convenience to me; but whether either or both or neither be don for me, I shall not be the less dilligent in his Maj. service. I have never envyed those who attain to great dignitys, or who acquire vast fortunes, being perfectly contented with my owne. However, a moderate & prudent care of a man's private concerns & family is not only allowable, but commendable, & indeed a duty. Upon this account, as I shall not be wanting for any acknowledgments for favours of this kind, so neither shall I be forgetfull of my respects towards those who propose to promote things of this nature for my advantage.

[a] This refers to the murderous battle of Seneff, August 11, 1674. It went on for three days, with a total loss of 25,000 men.

Digitized by Google

CLXXII.—William Harbord to the Earl of Essex.

May it please y^r^ Excellency, London, 5 Sept., 1674.

* * * * *

The other day, talking w^th^ *King*, I asked him about the *sitting* of *Parl:* and whether *he thought W. H.* could *be useful to him; he said yea*, and that he *would have me stay*, and would *consider me for it.* I told *Arl: of it*, and he *advised me* to write to *Essex* that *he would desire Arl:* to *recommend* me to *Kg. for some recompence for the last jurney by Kg. his commands and attendance, & also for this if I did stay; out of* w^ch^, *if any thing Considerable be gotten, Cooke, Elliot, & Chiffinns* may be *sharers*, wch is humbly submitted to *Essex* his pleasure.

* * * * *

I would have *Essex* cautious, *for Lauderdale is so insolent in his behaviour and words that wise men feare*[a] *the Parliament will not meete; he hath this seems his olde allowance of forty pounds a day as if commissioner, at* w^ch^ *men are in amaze; he is raising a thouthand foote &* 300 *horse in Scotland.*

* * * * *

CLXXIII.—William Harbord to the Earl of Essex.

May it please y^r^ Excellency, London, 15 Sept., 1674.

* * * * *

As to our matters here, most men have their heads full of fears, & ye wisest most, that the *thoughts* of *army and popery are still a foote; Duke, Tre: Laud: governe all. Tre:* layes about him & provides for his family, so y^t^ if Ever he come to be out wth ye king

[a] See Burnet, *Own Times*, i. 369.

Digitized by Google

his Enemies will Maull him. The publique Expense is farr short of ye Revenue,[a] by ye last Computation above 10,000M. weekly, so y^t^ the king will quickly have money in his purse; And it is feard that ye parliament will not Sitt, though they meet. If so, & y^t^ the Frenche keep their ground, *Essex will be removed next spring.* I heare from a good hand that Coventre is willing to *sell his place,* wch is a terrible Signe, for *you two must goe together; he complaines* that nobody *takes his part since Ormond went away,* and saith that he will *leeve his place rather then doe an ill thing,* which agrees wth the former story.

Williamson waited the other morning, *since secretary,* 2 Houres at *Treay.* before admitted, so y^t^ I can not tell what Course he wil shew.

Keeper acts very fearfully & warily. *Laud. braggs* like a *mad man. Trea.* is ill in health.

* * * * *

CLXXIV.—William Harbord to the Earl of Essex.

May it please y^r^ Excellency, London, 21 Sept., '74.

This Bearer, Captain Crofts, going this day for Dublin, I thought it best to write by him my thoughts to you upon the present occurrences here, that so you may take y^r^ measures accordingly, for I dare assure you I am not mistaken in mine.

First, the King ye last ffriday in Councell declared his thoughts of proroging the parliament till spring,[b] not ascertaining the time, but yisterday his Ma^ty^, Duke, Trear. & Williamson mett at Mr.

[a] It was Danby's usefulness in this respect that enabled him to maintain himself so long.

[b] Charles was now acting as his own Foreign Minister. His intention of proroguing once more had been carefully concealed, even from Danby, and the announcement created consternation in the Council. The time named for the meeting of parliament was first November and then April, 1675.

Digitized by Google

Coventry his office, & I believe there it was agreed, & this day, or on wednesday, It wil be declared, I suppose, in Councell. Coventry hath stoutly opposed it, but could not prevaile.

The french have Labored int, and I am apt to believe that a stratagem was made use off to bring it about, wch was the opportune contriving a story of a great victory procured by ye frenche, & ye Boats stopped 2 or 3 dayes y^t^ so It might not Admitt of a suddain Contradiction, for Lockart, from Paris, writes only of ye Raising of ye Siege, & yet ye french Ambassador pretends to have Letters, of ye same date, of a great Rout given to ye Confederates, & in so improbable a Manner y^t^ It Lacketh Even Creditt here. You can not Imagine how great a Surprise this Actt of Councell hath made among the people who talk very broad, And may perhaps prove fatall to *Trea. & Laud.* My Ld. Treär. eldest sonne is admitted into ye Bed Chamber, & waited this day; this is donne by ye help of 90,[a] & Its wonderfull to see his good fortune in ye Marriage of his Children & settling his family in order; And many are of opinion that when y^t^ is donne he will stop this Career. He hath greater Creditt wth the King then any man Ever had, & if he continue the way I heare he hath proposed of saving yearly 500ff, & laye it up in specie, Land will fall, I dare be bold to saye, in 4 yeares, to 10 yeares purchasse, & rents one Moit^ie^ of what they are now, all for want of Boullion to drive the Trade of ye kingdome, and then all ye nobility & Gentry must be Courtiers, or weare sabotts at home. This is the greatest blow y^t^ can be given you, & I can not see a possibility of y^r^ staying where you are longer then the spring, if those Councells hold; And, therefore, for God's sake let us apply ourselves wholy to ye payment of y^r^ Debt, w^thout^ wch I feare your family wilbe ruined. However, when Mr. Hine commeth to towne, I will send you his particular, but I expect y^r^ Excellency to give me Leave to Labour y^r^ being out of debt, & y^t^ that have pretenses before all other considerations, & I assure you I will Labour it wth all Immaginable Industry.

[a] Duchess of Portsmouth.

Digitized by Google

I plainly perceave *that king speakes well of Essex to cover his other designes*, And I believe you wilbe of my minde ere long.

* * * * *

CLXXV.—William Harbord to the Earl of Essex.

May it please y^R^ Excellency, London, 29 Sept. 1674.

* * * * * *

The Duke of Monmouth was Confined to his Chamber, at ye Request & pressing of my Ld Montague, for some words his Grace was pleased to speake of my Lord, & those grounded upon ye late stopping of my Ld. Montague's by ye Guard by ye Duke's Command as he came from Mrs Kirk's; but is released again. The (*illegible*) hath gotten him great kindnesse among ye Generality of people by the other being so terribly hated, & y^t^ *Duke, Lau: Tre: apeared for him. There is a great feud between York & Mon: the whole Court backs M., & Arl. hath wisely made him head of the party, wich wil give him credit now and in Parl.* All *their hopes is peace*, where in I hope they will *faile.*

My Lord Arlington is returned from the Bathe & bears his great losse patiently, thanking God y^t^ his Child was not there. This is all at present from, &c.

CLXXVI.—The Earl of Essex to Sir Henry Capel.

Deare Brother, Dublin Castle, Octob^r^ 3, 74.

I have received y^rs^ of ye 20th of September; I am confident ye prorogation of ye parliam^t^ will much alter ye face of things, in consequence to wch if any change should arise in relation to my selfe, Twill not in ye least surprise or discompose me, being resolved

Digitized by Google

never to doe any Thing unjustifyable upon ye Acc^t^ of Keeping my place. I doe believe I shall be able to clear my debt by ye next Spring, & as for my building at Cassiobury I have done enough already to make it an excellent House, & in such a manner as I can make use of it without doeing any more, & therefore if matters doe not succeed wth me I will let that rest as it is, but if I continue in ye station where I am, I will by degrees doe more.

* * * * *

CLXXVII.—The Earl of Essex to the Bishop of Down.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, Octob^r^ 19th, 74.

Twas some weeks since that I rec̃d a Letter from y^r^ L^p^ wherein were severall Things relating to ye Nonconformists who are in those parts where you reside concerning their Intelligences wth Scotland. The Acc^t^ wch I had from you I comunicated to Sr Arthur Forbese, who was then goeing into that country, & tho' Things doe not at present looke very well in Scotland, yet I hope there will be nothing to disturbe ye peace there, or bring any unquietnesse here; however, I conceive y^r^ Lp does very well in ye moderation wch I hear you use towards dissenters, this not being, in my opinion, a season proper to struggle too much wth them.

* * * * *

CLXXVIII.—William Harbord to the Earl of Essex.

May it please y^r^ Excellency, Ye last of Oct., '74.

I writt to you by ye last post concerning *Brockley*,[a] & have endeavoured, both by my self, *Sr H. Capell & friends*, to *finde out*

[a] Apparently means Berkeley.

Digitized by Google

the bottom of it; & although from severall *hands its plaine that King hath been tampred with, yet Tweedale hath prest Kg so hard that Kg did in anger saye that he had not promised it to Brockley. D Ham. Tweedale*[a] *are Essex his friends;* & *so is Arl., Cov. most faithfully, and, indeed, the man proposed adds much to Essex his fame. Arl.* may rest satisfyed That nothing *wil be done till spring nor till the three yeares be out. Tweedale tels me that when Kg and he spoke o' this, Kg said all the good things of Essex immaginable, but he can not resist the importunities of Portsm., nor is to be trusted. S*r *H. Cap., W. H. use their utmost care,* & nothing shalbe *omitted. If Essex can but have it* 4 *yeares, and his condition easy, I should be glad to see him at home and out of this court. The dutch Ambassador came to me* & assured me that *Orange did extreamly value* and Desire *Essex his friendship. S*r *H. Capell is gone home,* & wilbe here *again on Thursday* & *write at large.*

* * * * *

And you can not Imagine how *fair all Orm. his friends are* to *Essex,* and particularly *Ossory, who hath taken upon him to speake to Portsm. about this;* & therefore I pray by some publique *civility let the world see the good understanding that is between you, for all good men desire it.*

Lady Pembroke hath said such words to Kg upon this much as wold make one tremble.

* * * * *

CLXXIX.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Tyrone.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, Novembr 10, '74.

I have reĉd yrs of ye 6th instant, wch gives me notice of severall persons who doe much damnefy ye people in ye county of Waterford

[a] *i.e.* the "party" lords opposed to Lauderdale.

Digitized by Google

by robbing & spoiling them. The usuall course I have taken in cases of this nature is to direct a Lre to Three or four of ye principall Justices of peace in ye County, who are most active & diligent, to make it their particular buisnesse to apprehend such mischievous persons, wherefore, if yr Lp please to send me ye names of some whom you conceive fittest for this worke, I shall order a speciall Letter to them in this case. As for granting a warrt to bring men in dead or Alive, 'tis somewhat a dangerous Thing to trust such a powr wth any, till by some Tryall of Law ye Offenders have bin proceeded agt, & to this end I have severall Times appointed ye Judges that Indictmts should be preferrd agt ye men who were thus suspected, & if ye Grand Jury find ye Indictmt upon ye returne thereof, proclamation issues giving them a certain space of Time to render themselves, whereof if they faile powr is given to any of his Majesties subjects to bring them in alive or dead; yet, however, in regard men of this sort are comonly desperate, & not easily apprehended, if in taking of them such a Accident happens as one of them is killed, if he prove a Tory we take care to indemnify ye persons who killed him; therefore, so soon as yr Lp shall let me know who are fitt to be employed in this affaire, I shall send directions to them to quicken them in ye execution of their Trust, & use all means to pursue & take these Malefactors.

CLXXX.—The Earl of Essex to William Harbord.

Mr Harbord, Dublin Castle, Novem. 14, '74.

In yr Two late Letters of ye last of Octobr & 3d of Novem: there was much said concerning my Lord Berkeleys coming hither; I am still of ye mind I was in before, that Tis impossible he can be ye man, whatever people may imagine, or himselfe believe; you tell me that by ye means of Duke Hamilton you have made ye

Digitized by Google

Dutchesse of Portsmouth my friend; for my owne part I cannot desire ye friendship of any of that sort. To keep faire wth them & all ye world I shall be glad to doe, but to make any such friends so as to be usefull, or a support to me, will necessarily obliege me to be assistant to them in finding out money, or other advantages for their qualification, & if once I should begin there would be no end of it; However, I desire you to returne my humble thanks to Duke Hamilton, Ld Tweedale, for their kindness to me, & to all others whom you see friendly upon these occasions.

As to my stay here for 4 years I desire no proposall of that nature should ever be made on my behalfe, & I cannot imagine what it is makes men in England believe ye Goverm^t^ of Ireland to be for a Limited Time of Three Years; for ye Comission is during his Majesties pleasure, & if they regard ye practice my Ld Arthur Chichester was here seven or eight years; my Ld Strafford six or seven; my Lord of Ormond as long; my Ld Robarts but seven months; my Ld Berkeley not full three years; nor is any series of Governors to be found where this of Three years Time was observed.

His Majestie may please to continue me here so long as he finds me usefull in his service, & when ever Tis more convenient for his Affaires to send another, it may be either before or after ye three years; Truly for my owne part I doe not desire to stay longer then my Actings are gratefull to my master. That ye Employm^t^ is convenient to me in relation to my private Affairs you well know; The pains are so great wch must be taken in it, that truly unlesse it be performed to his Majesties satisfaction in such a manner as without ye extraordinary pressing of friends I cannot remaine in it, I cannot thinke it worth ye labour to continue upon these Terms.

* * * * *

Digitized by Google

CLXXXI.—William Harbord to the Earl of Essex.

May it please yor Excel^cy^, London, 14 Nov., 1674.

* * * * *

Having with all care & Dilligence attended the Report. of y^r^ *removal, & imployed* 96 97 Chiffing *& others to discourse it* w^th^ *Kg, & finding* by y^m^ *all* y^t^ *Brock had prest to succeede,* & thought *himself so sure* that *Leyton bragged of it on* Monday morning last, I *thought it time to trye, & waited on Kg; & knowing* that the *question* about the *guards* and *countrie companies would please him, I began* wth that. He said much upon that subject as to the practice in forrain parts, & his owne opinion was that It was the priviledge of y^e^ *regiment,* & that they ought to have it.

* * * * *

Then *of himselfe told me* that he had *been asked* by severall *if he had any intentions to remove Essex. He swore it never came* into his *thoughts,* and that *He would be glad to have Essex here & there,* but that *till he* could *doe better for Essex He intended to continue you there;* That he wished wth all *his Soule he had sent Essex over at his first coming over;* That he *was abundantly satisfied* w^th^ *your Conduct, & thought Essex* y^e^ *most* considerable and *weighty man in the kingdome.* Thereupon I thought *fitt to give him an Acc^t^* hqw much *Essex Family* had suffered, & y^t^ *Essex had* contracted *a great Debt* by *giving Three portions to younger Sisters;* That by the *helpe of Essex his Imployment Sr H. Capell & Mr Harbord* out of *y^r^ Estate payd part of y^r^* Debts, & y^t^ *in* 1 or 2 *years more, if King did continue Essex, his Family would in some measure be repaired, & Essex also to serve King on any occasion.* I could not perceave but that this discourse was greatfull enough to him, for *King continued to say kind Things of Essex & his Father. Then I proposed to call parliament in Essex his Time,* and read to him *a part of y^r^ instructions to me about it, & urged* the benniſitts I thought he might reasonably expect *from one,* & in how unsafe a posture *his Affairs* were in *there* when *his Subjects* were unsafe in their *Lande* &

Digitized by Google

properties. That now, all the *Defects* in the former *Acts seen,* that *Essex understood* them very well, And would be able to propose such Expedients by *new Laues* as would *give him & his subjects great* security and safety *both in their Minds* & *Estates,* so as private men did not prevaile & give *provisoes, as in the other Acts, destroying* ye very *intentions & scope of the same;* that the *English* had great trust & confidence in *Essex,* and y^t^ *the Irish* were satisfyed w^th^ *yr Justice to them* on all occasions; That they Injoyed the bennefitt *of the Laws equally* wth any of his *other subjects;* That the *Army* was uselesse for want of it, for till 3 Monthes *paye* were always *locked up in the Castle* the *Army* could doe little or noe Service ; That if *his Revenue* increased, *so might his Troops*; That in probability a means might be found to ease *him of* a great part of *his charge at Tangier* by sending thither *yearly store of Salt, beef, pork, bacon, pease, wheat,* & *barley,* wch the people were much better able to spare than money, & would equally be usefull to *King his Affaires;* That now was a very *fit Time,* y^e^ *Nation* beginning to finde the Effects *of peace,* the *Exchaynge* being at *parr* betwixt ye Kingdomes, whereas it used to be at *Tenn p Cent.* & upwards of the *English side;* That the Dutch *Commissioners* were *in Treaty* wth E *Ossory* for ye taking yearly a great *number of Cattle* at a certain price, weighing such a *weight,* a thing infinitely to be sifted, wch would not only Obstruct the Trades y^t^ then *Danes, Holsteiners,* & *Hamburgers* now drove wth their *Cattle there,* but bring the *Dutch* to have a great *dependance* upon that *Kingdome;* That the fforts & Garrisons now in great decaye, and y^t^ nothing *but a parliament could repair them, King his Revenue* being unable to doe it ; That it was absolutely necessary to have *Parliament* before the *renewing* the *Farme,* because if *the Revenue* were *improved, there would be less neede of a Supply. King seemed well pleased* wth the *discourse,* and had me talk w^th^ *Trear. & S. Coventry* about it. I then proposed in order to it the obliging *Sr Oliver St George.* He *startled* at it, & *asked if he were not concerned* in the *Genoa prize. He made many difficulties.* However, I have herew^th^ sent Mr Ald-

Digitized by Google

worth a Letter *to make him a Privy Councillor. Essex & Ossory thought it not fesible.* I am heartely glad y^{t} it is *donne.* I have also Sent over a Letter for his Brother Signed, & a *hope these* 2 *will thinke themselves obliged to Essex.* I did yisterday meete wth an opportunity, after *having tried Twenty*, to show *Treasurer* a Letter I had prepared for his Ma^{tes} Signature about ye postage of Letters. He read it & aproved of it, & I read also y^{r} Directions about *Dean Sherydon.* He told me how he came to be engaged in y^{t} affaire, y^{t} It was grounded upon the great ffame & Character of the man, both of his *Learning* & *piety*, but how *Essex* did *affirme these Things* wch were of might the *Caveat* [unintelligible] *& the Matter should be heard; & I finde* that *he will opinion the Thing*, & therefore I pray write to *him about it*, & laye what *weight you can* to back y^{r} *Commands to me.* I believe a *petition from ye College & some of the Chief Clergy to Essex, & a Copy sent over, will doe well. It's fitt for Essex to keepe faire with him.* Tis not to be immagined by any body *absent what Juggling* there is among *them, & how a Man is forced to live & waite.* 96 [a] is very kinde, & *took the* 100 *Guinys Kindly;* but is *Trear.* his own *creature. Chiffing is most zealous for Essex, & hates Trear., but depends on Arlington.* 96 told me the other day y^{t} *Arlington had spoken to King* that *Carr might succeed Essex; but tis only to sett Arlington & Essex at odds.*

I finde my best way is to Learne all I *can & to depend on King, who hath promised to write* to *Essex* to *this effect*, and hath Directed *Chiffing to minde him of it;* but I would not get it ready this post; *Chiffing* spoke the other day to *Portsmouth* about *Essex*, who offered him y^{t} *she had never said word* to *King* about *Berkeley.* That *she* heard y^{t} *Essex* was a very *good Man, & if she could serve Essex she would. Chiffing* gave me an *account of this*, but I durst give him no other answer but that wee *would reserve her favour for a better occasion*, but that *if she as of her self would trye King it was not amisse*, & see how he stood *inclined*, since wch he tells me that *she* did it thus: "Sir, There is a *Report that you are calling*

[a] Elliot.

Digitized by Google

home Essex. I heare he is a very good Man, & serves you well"; King sayd I never had such a thought, he is the best *man I have,* & I wish *I had some more of them, so she lett ye discourse fall again.* I heare y^t *Ld: Northumberland* doth saye y^t *Portsmouth* will never forgive *the deniall.* She is the Divell of a woeman, but the truth is *Portsmouth sleighted her Jewells;* I hope all *is quiet for this time,* & y^t you will over live *the* 3rd *year,* wch I assure *Essex is the greatest Mark of faver* y^t can *befall Essex,* & upon wch all *men will fixx* their thoughts *as to* y^r *faveur* w^th *King;* And as soon as *you receave King's Letter send him an Answer,* & take notice what past between *King* & *Harbord about Essex.*

Coll. Grace sent me this Letter & List of names yesterday. I found him very buissy to get ye king's Letter, & by it to appoint a Sheriff for ye king's County, wch would have been uneasy to you, & knowing y^t you are now buissy in ye naming of Sheriffs I inclined him rather to take this way, wch perhaps is to late, or at least w^thout such unkindnesse you may quickly make it so, & have an undeniable answer for this yeare, & he being great w^th *Duke,* & abundantly *Knavish,* tis best to keepe him quiett.

* * * * *

I feare I have quite tyred y^r Excellency: when *Ranelagh comes I will watch him the best I can. He is a dangerous Man.*

CLXXXII.—Sir Henry Coventry to the Earl of Essex.

My L^p, Whitehall, Nov. 21, 1674.

* * * * *

P.S.—Since my writing what I have before troubled you w^th, his Maj^y hath comanded mee to lett y^r Excel^ley know y^t hee is enformed there is a booke lately come out at Dublin relating all the par-

Digitized by Google

ticulars of the massacres and all other bloodshed coñitted during the late warre or immediately preceding it, that it seemeth already has done much harme by encreasing the present animosity betwixt the English and Irish; sure there needeth not much paynes to make men remember that which all the addresse of the Government hath not as yet beene able to make men forgett; her Majty therefore hath coñanded mee to write to yr Excllcy yt if this information bee true, & yt any booke or bookes of this nature have beene printed, yt yr Excllcy cause them to bee suppressed as judging the times neede rather remedy to reconcile the two partys then any way to exasperate them by the repetition of former hostilitys: this is what I had in coñand from his Majty.

CLXXXIII.—William Harbord to the Earl of Essex.

May it please yR Excellency, 25 Nov: 74: London.

* * * * *

I did advise wth *Sr Charles Harberd of some way to engage Treasurer to Essex,* & thought of *Saule & ingaging Trear: to grant a preferment for him here upon what Essex had begun there; concluding* that if he *did it He would loose Duke,* & that *Essex would be thought the occasion of his preferment, being his Chaplain, if he did not I* should *take my measures better* wth *him for the Time to come; I did propose it to* him as an *Act* wch *would gaine him great Creditt here* wth *the nation,* and convince *the world of his care of the protestant Religion; He embraced it,* & told me yt *he would ever be ready to embarke in any Thing* wth *Essex; & doe any Act to convince Essex of his sincerity in* that *point;* & I *intend to encourage him in this of Saule, for I heare that King said to one yf other day, who was reading* 2 or 3 *Lines of his Sermon,* that *Saule was a Madman. Every body clamers against him extreamly*

Digitized by Google

for his difficulty of Accesse; and indeed *his Buckingham Hours are insufferable, & destroy his Health; He hath bin ill, & kept his bed* these 2 *dayes;* I hope you have settled ye Matter w^th^ *ye Farmers,* & will *comply* wth that *method* w^ch^ *Trear: tells King is best for King his Service, as He thinkes; for* I finde that *King* & *Chiffing* are *impatient for their monys,* & have *bin angry* w^th^ *him about it;* who *now lays the blame on Essex, wondering at the* Difficulty *he makes,* and tells *King that out of Civility he will heare once more from you* & then *settle their defalcations,* & therefore I would not have *him gett King & Chiffing from Essex in this point,* w^ch^ *he will doe* though *Essex oppose it;* I hartely wish that *W. Harbord was one month* w^th^ *Essex, for* I *believe* that now *the French Affairs are in so ill a posiure, W. Harbord being well instructed might procure the calling of parliament there, & if soe Essex will be not only safe, but gaine great honour; but since Essex desires W. Harbord his being here to watch Ranelagh, W. Harbord will doe what Essex thinkes best,* & If *Essex can but overlive his* 3 *years in his Government all pretenders will give over,* & the *Farme of necessity be renewed in Essex his Time,* and consiquently *have an opportunity to make his condition easy at his Returne, for believe me,* unlesse *Essex have a good Summe of Money in his purse, as Rents are now paid Essex his Estate will not support him* wth any the least *plenty.*

I finde poor Sr Nicholas Armorer disturbed least Mr Loftus should Disturb him in his Lodge; he is a very honnest *silly creature,* & *loves Essex* I think, & *does what he can for him on all occasions,* & therefore I pray *take him into ye care,* & not *suffer him to be put out.*

* * * * *

Digitized by Google

CLXXXIV.—The Earl of Essex to William Harbord.

MR Harbord, Dublin Castle, Novem^br^ 28th, 74.

* * * * *

I am very well satisfied wth ye Acc^t^ you give me in y^rs^ dated ye 14th, of ye severall discourses you have had wth his Majestie, & thanke you for ye pains you take in my Affaires. As for what you write concerning Dutchesse of Portsmouth, Mr Elliott, Mr Chiffins, I conceive ye only use to be made of them is to learne out a litle what is doeing, but by no means will I fix my relyance & dependance upon litle people. If I can enjoy my place wth his Majesties favor & good Liking, & doe him & ye Kingdome service, no pains can ever be anxious or uneasy to me to bestow, but without it a Life in ye Hurry of buisnesse will be very uncomfortable to me, & such as I am sure a private one is far preferable to it. As for ye Letter wch you mention ye King should write, a favor of that kind can never be unwellcome, yet I would not have you make any business to seeke ye getting one, for ye being preserved in his Majesties reall Esteeme is that wch I desire, & so long as I find my selfe possest thereof, there needs not y^r^ Trouble to ye King of any Letters of this sort.

* * * * *

CLXXXV.—William Harbord to the Earl of Essex.

May it please y^R^ Excellency, 28 Nov. '74, London.

* * * * *

I assure you did *Essex* but see what *care I take to avoid imbarking him* wth any *Interest* whatsoever, *much less* w^th^ *Portsmouth,*

Digitized by Google

I am confident he would never mistrust my care of him, nor think *his honour unsafe in my hands; & I beseech Essex to believe that no* considerations whatsoever *shall ever tempt me to expose it, &* though I suffer *Chiffing to talke to Portsmouth of y^r being a worthy Man, & one whoe loves & serves King well;* yet though he offered *Sir H. Capell & Mr Harbord to dine with her at his* Lodging, *& only by his means Keepe faire* w^th *her;* neither *doe I in any buisnesse incline* either *to Trear: Arlington or Coventry more then just the matter will beare, &* Ever *take Sr H. Capell* or *Ch. Harbord's Advice* w^th *me; I* feare *Essex* may *believe* that *Wm Harbord* hath some *Ends of his owne* in the *Advice* he *gave* ab^t *the Farmers: God knows I never yet see one penny of the money, but* finding *King & Chiffing* extreame *uneasy for the want of their Money, stopt till the defalcations were adjusted, and* y^t *Trear: to save himselfe did sacrifice Essex, & in my Soule stopt it till Ranelagh could make a good bargaine for him or both, &* thereupon *I interposed my* thoughts *to Essex earnestly & faithfully, &* having donne *my duty submitt it to you;* but it is most Certain *that the better creditt* I *have* w^th *King the better I shall be able to serve Essex.*

* * * * *

CLXXXVI.--Mr. William Harbord to the Earl of Essex.

May it please y^r Excellency, 12 Dec. 1674.

* * * * *

King of France is growne fearfull of every Man he sees, & rageth at the opposition he finds, & it is believed that *he will not be able to support the chagrin of it. There is little probability of peace. Those that come later from France say* that the *scarcity of men there is incredible;* that y^e *people refuse to take the base*

Digitized by Google

mony lately coyned, and that there *is a generall discontent among* them *all; his ambition may cost him deare;* I intend to goe to Grafton for some part of ye Holidayes, & then to be up again. This is all at present from

88. Bridgman.
89. Lady Shrewsbury.
90. Portsmouth.
91. My Lord Councell of Ireland.
92. Ireland.
93. Sr Will Temple.
94. Kingston.
95. Sr Morrice Eustace.
96. Elliott.
97. Chiffing.

CLXXXVII.—The Earl of Essex to Charles II.

May it please y^R^ Majestie,

* * * * *

Sr Arthur Forbese is lately come from thence, & tells me He hath had severall Messengers he sent into Scotland returned to him agen, & these have discourst wth divers of ye discontented people there; ye grievance they seem to complaine of is, that ye Like Liberty & Indulgence to Dissentirs in matters of Religion is not allowed in that Kingdome, as is in others of y^r^ Majesties Dominions; Sr Arthur assures me this comes from ye most considerable of them, what Use y^r^ Majestie will make of ye Informac̃on I shall submitt to y^r^ Wisedome. Sr Arthur Forbese is a very freehearted Man, & his being wth this party has occasioned a considerable Expence to him, when therefore any Thing proper to accommodate him w^th^

Digitized by Google

shall come to my knowledge, I shall presume to mind y^r^ Majestie of his services.

MEMORANDUM.

CLXXXVIII.—Concerning ye Exportation of Wooll from Ireland.

Several Statutes of Ireland have imposed so great a Custom upon all Wool whatever exported, as it amounts to a most strict prohibition. This was done, as ye preambles of ye s^d^ Statutes doe recite, wth an intention to oblige ye people to manufacture all ye Wool within ye Kingdome, but it being found by experience that in ye Country, alwaies too thinly inhabited, there were not hands enough to worke up ye Wool wch ye Stock of Sheep on ye Lands could produce, It has ever bin allowd to ye chiefe Govern^r^ to dispence wth these Laws, & grant Licences for ye Exportac̃on of Wooll into England only, ye person who exported it entring into good securitie that ye Wool be delivered into some port of that Kingdom, & that Certeficates should be returned of their soe doeing, for wch Licence ye Chiefe Govern^r^ rec̃d a duty of 4^d^ for every great Stone consisting of 18 p̃ds weight so licenced to be exported.

The proffitt being very great of vending this comodity into forreine parts, That is to say, France, Flanders, & Holland, in comparison of ye gaine they make when sold in England, hath sett all men's Inventions on worke in contrivance of ways & means to evade ye Lawe, & it being every man's Interest here, who hath any Thing in ye Kingdome, to encourage or at least connive at ye exportac̃on at large, may be some reason why much of ye Wooll of this Country doth goe into forreine parts, or will be one obstruction to ye due regulac̃on thereof; For first Tis ye Chiefe Govern^rs^ Interest to have as much as may be exported, no matter whether

Digitized by Google

into England or else where, ye carrying out of it encreasing his Income ; Next Tis ye Interest of all ye Judges & Magistrates, who are ever Landed Men, to have it goe freely, it encreasing their rents ; And, lastly, Tis more ye Interest of Merch^ts^ & Traders to carry it thither, in regard of ye High Rates they may gett for it. Thus, it conducing to ye profitt of all Men here to have it freely exported, it may easily be supposed that all connivance imaginable will be used for ye encouragement thereof, & that when ever any shall be prosecuted for undue Exportac̃ons, some grains of favor will probably be allowd them, even in ye Courts here ; but for this no through remedy can be prescribed till ye Country be fully stockd wth people, & then, men's Interests being changed, it will become every man's concerne to keep this commodity manufactured within our selves. However, ye present Chiefe Govern^r^ will not faile of doeing his part effectually to obstruct all frauderlent practices in this matter, tho' it may a little lessen his gaine, & a strictness in this point also render him somewhat ungratefull to ye Landed Men and Merchants in this Kingdome.

Causes of ye Undue Exportac̃on of Wooll out of ye Kingdom of Ireland.

1. The Multitude of Ports in this Kingdome doe give great opportunitie for ye Shipping of Wooll into forrein parts.

2. The carelessness of ye Custom^rs^, & other Officers in ye severall ports, in performing their duty, either neglecting to take any Securities upon ye passing of Wooll, or else excepting such as are insolvent.

3. A patent to Sr Nich: Armorer & Sr Gabriel Silvius of all ye forfeitures incurred upon ye bonds enterd into for ye delivery of ye Wooll into some Port in England, wherein is an Expresse Clause conteynd empowring ye Patentees to make compositions for these bonds.

It appears by Records in ye Excheq^r^ y^t^ of 22,900^l^ penalties incurred since this Patent was on foot there hath bin received and brought to acc^t^ but 770^l^

Digitized by Google

4. The Wooll being Shipt & Securitie taken for ye delivery thereof in England by ye corruption of some Officers in ye English ports, Certeficates are signed of ye Landing of it there, tho' it were never really put on shoar; As also sometimes Certificates are counterfeited.

5. A late practice hath likewise bin discoverd of rolling up Wooll into great Twist, & so passing it as Yarne, & when it arrives into forrein parts 'Tis untwisted agen & becomes Wooll.

Remedies to prevent ye Exportac̃on of Wooll out of Ireland into forrein parts.

To ye 1st. That ye ports be limited to a certain Numb^r^, out of w^ch^ & no other Wooll shall be exported. These Ports may be Dublin, Drogheda, Waterford, Ross, Corke, Youghall, Limmericke, & Galloway.

To ye 2nd. When ever any Officer shall be found faulty in permitting any Wooll to goe without Licence, or neglecting to take securitie, or taking such as is insolvent, that He doe infallibly loose his place, & receive such further punishm^t^ as ye Law appoints.

To ye 3rd. That This Patent be vacated, w^ch^ 'Tis conceived may be done at his Majesties Will & pleasure (but then it will be reasonable, his Majestie intending ye Patentees a favor when He gave it them, may allow them some compensation when 'Tis revoked), & that no Compositions be ever made or allowd of to ye persons forfeiting their bonds, but ye utmost rigor & extremity taken ag^t^ them as punishm^ts^ due by Law.

The Patentees have sold their Patent to ye present Farm^rs^ who having influence on all ye Officers of ye Customs will by this means, being Trading men, carry wooll as they please into all parts, but ye Ld Lieu^t^ hath ordered ye Exchequ^r^ not to allow of this sale, so as that mischiefe will be prevented.

To ye 4th. That upon ye giving dispatch to every Vessel that shall Lade Wooll from Ireland, The Officers of ye Customs doe forthw^th^ transmitt a Duplicate of each Entry of Wooll to ye Treãry Office, & another Duplicate of each entry of Wooll to ye Comm^rs^ of ye Customs in England, at ye Custome House in London, to be by them registerd in their Office, & transmitted to ye severall Ports to wch ye s^d^ Wooll shall be said to be consigned. Whereunto may be

Digitized by Google

The Order by my Ld Trears Lre.

Added, that some Trusty person be employd in each Port in England where Wooll is usually Landed, to give an Acc^t from Time to Time of ye Wooll that is really exported from Ireland. It is also proposed, that ye Comm^rs of ye Customs in England doe send over to ye Ld Lieu^t, at every six or Twelve months End, Copies of ye Returns they have received from ye Ports in Ireland, wch may be compared wth ye booke of Licences kept in ye Secretarys Office, & by that will be seen whether all ye Wooll wch went hath bin truly Licenced.

To ye 5th. Woollen Yarne being within ye prohibition of ye aforsd Acts, the Lord Lieu^t hath already given Ord^r that no Woollen Yarne whatever shall be Exported without Licence in ye same Forme as in ye case of Wooll, for wch neverthelesse no duty, tho' by ye Statute it might, is exacted by ye Chiefe Govern^r, but for ye present ye Licences are allowd gratis.

That some one person be employd in each of ye Ports abroad where English or Irish Wooll is usually Landed to observe what Wooll comes over, & to returne an Acc^t, either by ye Lord Treãr or one of ye Secretarys, of ye proportions of Wooll that are there unladen, what Ships they are that bring it, who ye Master of ye s^d Ship is, & from what part of his Mãties Dominions it comes. It is supposed that six persons may doe this worke, there being not above that number of Ports to wch our Wooll usually goes, and 100*l.* a year to a man may suffice. This as is conceived may be so effectuall for ye discouery of ye fraudulent Exportac̃on of Wooll, as if it be put in practice, & fitt men employd therein only for 3 or 4 years, it will utterly breake those that follow this illegall Trade, wch being once done every one will probably be soe cautions as they will not readily venture upon ye like practices, & so this sort of Traffique will be at an end, & consequently ye Expence to these Inform^rs will also determine.

Digitized by Google

CLXXXIX.—Mr. William Harbord to the Earl of Essex.

15 Dec. 1674.

* * * * *

To-morrow I intend to see Ranelagh; on Thursday next my L^d^ of Pembroke is to be *married* to my Lady Portsmouth sister; *I heare that Brock makes great brags to King what services he could doe him in Ireland; &* that *King the other night at supper jeered him with it, & spoke very kindly of you;* I have desired *Sec. Covent* to discourse *with Kg. about Parl. &* I am in *hopes that if Ran. be honest wee shall prevaile, for the Trear. seemes forward in't but they are slippery men;* Its wonderfull *to see how bold Trear. is in making ennemies, depending wholy on his credit with King,* w^ch^ *all people wonder at, he having seen so many effects of Kg. his inconstancy; its evident that he hath much to doe to support the publike expense, &* talks *of Parl. as if he intended it, but God knowes his hart, though if there be no peace the Kg. will take good measures, I beleeve, saye or doe what they can, for the Frenche sinke a pace; I feare they will buy peace at any rate; you see in the Diurnall the story of Butnett a priest; Duke hath prevailed to have him only banished* wch giving great *discontent; I believe Ranelagh hath brought over some new projects* w^th^ *him, &* that *Trear. will renew the Farme ere long; for he lays about him on all hands* where *there is any the least project of gaine.*

CXC.—Mr. William Harbobd to the Earl of Essex.

May it please y^R^ Excellency, 19 Dec., 1674, London.

This morning Mr. Hilliard brought me y^r^ Ld^ps^ of ye 30 of Nov^ber^. I wish I had receaved y^rs^ sooner *Ran. having been in Towne ever*

Digitized by Google

since Tuesday, & Hillyard came w^th^ *him;* though I every day *watched him at Kg. Duke their rising,* & have daily *an acc^t how he spends his time,* & where. *He seems* extreamly *faire,* but I confesse *of all the men of the world I am the most affraid to Trust him,* & just now *coming from him he told me he was going to Lodd. for Instructions to Forbese;* & why such things should be *directed to him* & not *to Essex doth startle me. This* morning *Ld. Burlington* came *to me* on the behalf of *Orrery,* having heard that *I had receaved the report from Essex about the Lapse mony;* I receaved *him* very *civilly, & told him that it was not come to my hands. He told me* that great endeavours were used to *possesse King that Essex desired to be called home as weary of that post* ; I confesse it startled me & filled me wth jealousies *that Ran. might contrive that way to wound Essex with King;* & w^th^in *a* Minute *after he was gone* Sr *John Nicholas came to me* & told me the same thing, whereupon I thought it best to speake to *King of the contents of y^r^ Letter* & then to settle y^r^ affaire wth him; & reading it over 3 or 4 times & finding nothing int but what would be *gratefull to him* & also let *him see ye pains Essex tooke to serve him;* I resolved to *reade it to him,* w^ch^ *I did,* & on every distinct *clause did to the best of my understanding argue the weight & prudence* of *Essex his opinion* and *advice. He harkend to it* w^th^ *great patience & satisfaction,* & after I had donne I told *him of the report I had heard; he said he had not heard one word of it, but that he was so satisfied* w^th^ *Essex his conduct,* & how zealously *he studied to serve him, that he bid me assure Essex that it was not in the powr of any man to create any unkindnesse between King & Essex then between Kg. & Duke, & bid Essex depend of it; & that he would write you word so suddenly himselfe. I got this opportunity by Elliott, & King, finding that Duke followed us into the bedchamber, he went into the further room & looking behind him shut the door after us stayiny till I was past,* and, having *observed that he is extreamly pleased that Essex* doth *apply himselfe to him* & y^t^ he thinks him *fitter to be trusted* w^th^ *a Secrett then them,* I make *the best use I can of it,* & omitt no care to *doe Essex all the service I can*

Digitized by Google

if Ran. be honest I believe wee shall have parliament; at my going *from home he went away* & left *Duke Treas. & divers others,* w^ch^ *I could perceive Duke did not expect.*

* * * * *

CXCI.—William Harbord to the Earl of Essex.

May it please y^r^ Excellency, 22 Dec: '74.

* * * * *

On sunday night last, Kg: being at supper at Trea., Harry Savel[a] *being very drunck, fel so fowly on Ld: Molgrave, that Kg: commanded Savel to be gonne out of his presence.* However, the *next day Mollgrave sent him a challenge by Ld: Middleton; Rochester was 2^d^ to the other side. There was noe harm done; but D. hath interessed himselfe & prevailed* w^th^ *Kg: to forbid Savel his presence. Ran., every time I meete him, askes me when I goe for Ireland.* I doe wish I was wth y^r^ Excellency during ye time y^t^ Sr Henry intends to staye here, wch wilbe for a neare 2 monthes after ye Holydayes; but I am apt to *thinke that Trea. & Ran. will renew the farme suddenly, & I would not be away then. If I finde after Christmas that they doe not presse it,* I will perhaps take post & come over, but If I doe suspect their Designe to be such, then I will differr it.

* * * * *

[a] Henry Saville.

Digitized by Google

CXCII.—Sir Henry Coventry to the Earl of Essex.

My Ld White Hall, Dec. 22nd, '74.

Your Exc^llcy^ of the 12th of Dec^ber^ I have r^d^, and have shewn it his Maj^ty^. Before I sent the letter I told his Maj^ty^ I did beleeve it maight bee the same booke which I had seene & was publiquely sold heere, and I do beleeve it is no other. The truth is it had no greate effect here, for those y^t^ were Papists would not beleeve such bloody acts of theyre own tribe, & those y^t^ were not had hardly faith enough to beleeve all the apparitions and legend-like storys in it, so seemed to goe off heere w^t^ very little noyse.

Wee have little news heere. The Earle of Pembrook was on Saturday last marryed to the sister of the Dutchesse of Portsmouth. Ld Chiefe Justice Vaughan this day buryed, & the Earle of Clarendon his Corpse every day expected to bee buryed at Westminster. The march of Mon^sr^ de Turenne hath not as yet produced so greate effects as they expected in France, some part about Lorraine. I beleeve hee hath recovered, but I doubt will hardly bee in a capacity to force the Confederates to passe the Rhyne, as they seemed once to hope in France. No place for treaty as yet agreed upon. Breda offered by the Kg of France, totally rejected by the Confederates, and Hamburgh, proposed by the Emperor, refused by him. Both sides talk much of peace, but prepare for warre, especially the Emperour. The Suedes have not yet attempted any act of hostility upon the Elector of Brandeburgh, but hath a good army in Pomerania, and hath sent an Embassy to Denmarke to endeavour the keeping y^t^ Kg: in quiett,

Digitized by Google

who I doubt is too fast allyed wth the Emperour & Holland, and is too mindfull of the losses his father made by the Swedes to let goe such an opportunity of revenge as theyre making a warre ag^st^ the Empire (for so it is now called) would give him. I have not further to trouble y^r^ Excell^cy^ then w^t^ the presentation of my reall desires to serve you, &c.

* * * * *

Lord Chambellain & Ossery are not yet returned, but being every howre expected.

CXCIII.—William Harbord to the Earl of Essex.

May it please y^r^ Excellency, 24 Dec. '74.

I gave you an account by ye Tuseday post of my having receaved y^r^ Excellencies sent me by Mr. Hilliard, & likewise y^r^ other of ye 12 instant, & what had past between *Kg:* & my self upon that occasion, since w^ch^ *Treas: Did appoint Ran: & me to attend him,* w^ch^ *wee did but to no purpose till yesterday morning,* & then in *such hast that he spoke to us severelly.* What he *said to Ran: I know not, it being in* ye *bed-chamber; but I found Ran: cast his eye often towards me as if he seemed affraid that I should overheare him,* & though in *my nature I am not apt to be jealous, yet I can not but be so of him. After Trea: had donne* w^th^ *Ran: he called me to him & told me that he* had severall *things to saye to me; the first that Kg: had at his first acquainting him* wth my *desires consented to it,* & was pleased to *saye to him that he was* very well *satisfyed* w^th^ *my services,* & would in time *doe better for*

Digitized by Google

me. Then he told me *that he desired to have* a good understanding *& friendship* w^th^ *you, that he had that morning had an opportunity to doe Essex* severall *good offices* w^th^ *Kg:* y^t^ he found *him not to want them, Kg: having a great esteeme of you & his services,* y^t^ however he would on all occasions endeavour *to preserve him so, & desired me to assure you of it; that after the holydayes he would againe fal to the consideration of those things* w^ch^ *Essex had writ to him about; he seemes very franck in his words &* behaviour, & unlesse *Ran: be false to you I believe Trea: will be true to you. He governes all, only I finde* y^t^ *King dothe give away great sums weekly,* w^ch^ *I wonder at, though they be given to Trea: his friends in all places; Kg: commends him how able a man he is; he & his friends talk much of Parl. meeting, & his sonne in lawe, Cooke, stands for linne*[a] upon the *remove of* Mr. *Attorney; but when I see him so great* w^th^ *Trea: & Laud: I confesse I can not thinke he desinges any such thing.* I desire y^r^ Excellency wilbe pleased to give him thanks for his kindnesse & favour to me; & also *owne that I gave Essex an account of his civility to you, & of his intentions ever to serve you.* Upon *the whole this is the judgment I make of Essex, his condition as to his keping the post he is in. It is most certain there are attempts made upon Kg: to laye aside all thoughts of Parl.* If *he can bring him to it, then Essex must be removed; but till then I believe him safe enough,* & therefore *I long to see Essex cleare out of debt, & some money before hand.*

* * * * *

[a] King's Lynn.

Digitized by Google

CXCIV.

[Henry Thynne writes, on January 2, 1674, that there are some who want to place Arlington in Essex's place, in order to keep him 'out of business' in England. On January 9, William Harbord records that the Duke of York has sent for Bedford, Hollis, Halifax, Carlisle, Falconbridge, Salisbury, and Newport, and expressed his willingness to promote a law for the establishment of their rights, liberties, and religion; that Lauderdale pretends to favour the meeting of Parliament, and accuses Arlington of hindering it; but that neither the Duke, Lauderdale, or Danby really wishes for it.]

CXCV.—William Harbord to the Earl of Essex.

May it please y^R^ Excellency, 16 Jan. 1674. London.

* * * * *

There is nothing so visible as that *Trear: is extreamely fond of Ranelagh, on all occasions makes use of his Advice in all Things relating to Ireland; so that that Kingdome in a great manner depends on Ranelagh.* I finde y^t^ *Ranelagh hath proposed very great Advantages to be had there by his means, as the encreasing the Army at least* 4000 *men upon expiration of this Farme,* wch I see *takes much* w^th^ *King & Duke, & the bringing in a manner all the wealth & strength of that Kingdome* under the *jurisdiction of the Courte* & particularly *under Duke, Trear: Lodd: & Ran:,* who *weekly sends private orders from Lodderdale to Forbes;* & I am *certaine that Ranelagh doth frighten Trear:* w^th^ *Essex* his *endeavors underhand to raise his fame in order to ye succeeding of him. Yesterday* 51 & *Ran: were shut up together at Ranelaghs at least three hours, some thinke that Strafford is intended to succeed Essex by Lodderdale's means,* who without the *knowledge of Duke brought him into ye Councell, at wch Duke was very angry,* & I heare y^t^ *Strafford*

Digitized by Google

doth not disowne his hopes of succeeding Essex. Berkeley had 1000 *pounds of* Inchiquin *to gett him made Governor of Tangier; so that Portsmouth hath answered his pretensions already; here was also a report of Arlington's being intended Lieutenant; He laughs at it,* & I believe *will as readily loose his head as change his place. Duke, Trear: & that party made their braggs* that they would *resigne Arlington at his Returne; But King is very kinde to him,* & tis wonderfull *to see him shutt upp in ye morning* w^th^ *Arlington severall hours,* & the same day *as* many w^th^ *Duke, Trear*: & *Lodderdale; I pray God direct him. Mordant having appeared violent ye last Session against ye papists is at last by his brother's meanes reconciled to Duke* & promised Hanley's place, who is dangerously ill, & *Mordant is gone to Shaftesbury to convert him;*[a] & I finde y^t^ *King is very desirous of ye parliam^t^ meeting,* & would *gladly* persuade *his brother to it,* & *Trear:, if he can satisfie himselfe that parliam^t^ will let him alone,* then he will *consent to it; all his feare is least parliam^t^ should revive ye bill to remove all such from King as will not take such an oath* wch they are *sure he will not take, of ye other side. Trear: thinks himselfe* either *innocent or provided* w^th^ *Friends,* & *forsees a storme from Spaine,* who have *declared a war beyond ye Line by open Acts of Hostilitie;* & also *those of Algier, Tripoly,* & *Tunis have offered faire for a Rupture;* & if either of this happen *He* & *ye rest can not but foresee a necessity of King his falling into parliam^t^ hands; the Dutch refuse to pay us some parte of our mony* & *seeme to slight us so that tis not imaginable* what a *confusion wee are in, here are great endeavours used*[b] *to persuade King to dissolve this parliam^t^* & *call another; but* I believe *He will not doe it at least till he hath tried them once more.*

* * * * *

[a] This led to the belief that Shaftesbury was to succeed Essex.—(H. Thynne to Essex, Jan. 16.)

[b] By Louis XIV.

Digitized by Google

I can not perceave in the least but that *King continues his good opinion of Essex*, & I am confident *that if Ran: be true wee shall have parliam^t;* but *He is a most dangerous man, extreame poore, so as to want a Coach in feare of being arrested dayly;* Vice-Admirall Tromp is come over wth my Lord Ossory, and extreamly courted by all the great men here. Gelderland hath made Choyce of the Prince of Orange for there Duke, & its thought that ye other provinces will doe the same.

* * * * *

CXCVI.—William Harbord to the Earl of Essex.

May it please y^r Excellency, 19 January, 74.

* * * * *

I am so fully convinced of the *falsehood of Ranelayh*, and how great *a rogue he is, that my hart is at rest upon that matter*, and that by his *falsehood he doth endeavor to engage Trear: against Essex; & having imployed a great friend of Trear: to him upon this occasion*, I finde *that Ranelagh hath endeavord all he can, & doth dayly doe soe, but I hope to prevent it;* and *this day I watched* by *his means*, and just *as King rose from dinner I gott him alone & there discoursed* w^th *him* the matter *of Parliam^t* & how usefull *it might prove to him in Essex his Time. He told me that he had not spoke to Trear: of Parliam^t tho' I am sure He hath, but that He would. To be short, I told Essex in my last how matters stood* and what *He must trust to, & I thinke I am not deceived in my measures. I doe thinke that upon the renewing of the Farme, W. Harbord will prevaile to gett Essex a reward for his services, and Sr Henry Capell is of that minde*, & therefore I would *gladly be here; but for all Duke, Trear: Lodderdale,*

Digitized by Google

Ranelagh, and all that party, I finde that Arlington keeps his post, and this conference I had this day w^th^ *Ranelagh* makes *me hope that,* without *some great alteration in our Affaires at home, Essex is safe; but King is in a manner wholly governed by Duke, though Will: Harbord dare assure Essex that, nothwithstanding all Trear: his cunning King will be in great wants.* Sr *H. Capell will be in Towne to-morrow and then W. Harbord will be in a few days spared.* I finde Ranelagh depends *more on Lodderdale* than *Trear:* and that *Duke supports them both; if France sinke, Arlington will be too hard for them all. P. of Orange hath given King, by him, great assurances. I wish they be honest. Duke, Trear: Lodderdale are very buisy to persuade King to dissolve this Parliam^t^ & to call another, but King is fearfull, and if Foreine Affaires keepe faire Essex is safe.*

* * * * *

I doe not much feare Ranelagh as false as He is, for I finde that King doth love to heare that Essex depends wholly upon King against the whole world. Sr *H. Capell is here. W. Harbord must come over, for Ranelagh, I believe, tells King that I doe stay here to follow my private affaires & doe not minde his nor y^r^ service &* thereby *endeavours to weaken my credit* w^th^ *King,* and as soon *as I have introduced* Sr *H. Capell in these matters I will come over post and stay a monthe wth Essex, and then come againe if Essex thinke it best; to whose pleasure I humbly submitt all.*

* * * * *

Digitized by Google

CXCVII.—William Harbord to the Earl of Essex.

May it please y^R Excellency, 23 Jan. 1674.

I receaved this morning y^rs of ye 16th instant, & gave ye inclosed to my Father, who will, I suppose, give you an answer to it this night. Sr Henry being come up, I intend to begin my journey for Holyhead Thursday next, & pray y^r Excellency to send ye yacht theither, wth all the speede the Captain possibly can. As for *Essex House I dare assure Essex that there is no danger of its being sold in hast;* & if upon the whole after *that Essex shall have well thought of* ye present state of *the publique & his private Affairs,* & resolve to proceede, *W. Harbord will serve him in that* & in all things to ye utmost *of his power,* & I dout not in the least to have *King to give Essex a good summe upon ye renewing of the Farme. Ranelagh & Trear: had this day audience of King an hour. Ranelagh tells me that it was upon ye State Affairs,* & how great an addition of *Soldiers will be raised upon ye expiration of his terme; & I hope he did not attaque Essex before Trear: for I have, I thinke, weakened his creditt pretty well there, for Trear: told Charles Bartie,* who *hates him above all men, but yesterday, that he pretty well knew what use to make of Ranelagh,* & how farr *he was to be trusted. His wife hates him,* & can not endure *to see him* w^th *Trear:* who, *I believe, is well pleased* w^th *Essex his friendship;* & before I leave this place I will acquaint *Trear:* w^th *Essex* his hopes y^t *King will assiste him* upon the *renewing of ye Farme,* & *though Ranelagh is not* to be *trusted Trear: will be ashamed to breake his word with Essex.* I will omitt writing many things, but give y^r Excellency an Account of y^m at my arrivall. Some saye y^t *Shaftesbury is coming to court agen. Duke has given over rayling at Arlington,* wch makes *men thinke that King will not abandon him to Duke. There is no money,* & therefore *Parliam^t must be called & sitt in Aprill.*

Digitized by Google

CXCVIII.

[Essex desires Harbord to confirm the good understanding between himself and Coventry, though he will obey the King's orders, "without reguarding whom it pleaseth or displeaseth." He is anxious also to keep fair both with Danby and Ranelagh.]—Dublin Castle, Jan. 23, 167⅘.

CXCIX.—The Earl of Essex to Sir H. Capel.

Dear Brother, Dublin Castle, Jan. 30, 167⅘.

Believing Mr Harbord will certeinly be upon ye road for Ireland, before this Letter can arrive, I must hold my correspondence wth you for such matters as I would have comunicated to him, & therefore I have herewith enclosed a Lr̃e written to him concerning Essex House. 'Tis most of it in cypher, wch ye Key will unfolde, as also one other to Sr Charles Harbord, wch I desire you to deliver.

The Citty here is at this present in a good deale of disorder, ye Aldermen & Comons almost perpetually jarring & differing. At my first coming over they were in great confusion, & severall Mutinies had bin here, & in one of them, concerning ye building of a bridge, ye Tumult was so great, as Sr Arthur Forbese, then one of ye Lds Justices, was forced to draw out some of ye Soldiers, & cause them to fire among them before they would be quieted, wherein some men lost their lives. Afterwards by ye vile practices of Sr Ellis Leighton to get himselfe into ye Receiver's place, & some other advantages of money, Sr John Totty, then Mayor, joyning wth other seditious people of ye Comons, at once turned out eight Aldermen & ye Recorder; and ye matter being extraordinary, & ye manner of displacing these men, who were ye wealthiest & most substantiall of ye Citty, being very irregular & turbulent, they

Digitized by Google

applied themselves to ye King in England, & his Majestie at my first coming over ordered me to hear & determine it according to justice. The Affaire had a full hearing at large, & ye proceedings of turning out these Aldermen appearing not only contrary to all ye practice & customs of this Citty, but also ag^t^ ye Rules of Coñon Justice, It was declared voyd by ye whole board, there being at least 20 of ye Counc^ll^ present, not one dissenting, & that ye Aldermen should be replaced agen, as also that all Acts & proceedings relating to ye turning out of these Aldermen, should be raced out of ye Citty books. The first part was performed, & ye Aldermen putt in possession of their places agen, but as for ye latter ye Citty has neglected to do it hitherto, & ye last weeke, there being a Quarter Assembly, ye matter was taken into consideration; ye Mayor & Aldermen unanimously agreed, & sent into ye Coñons. Y^e^ Coñons by Vote have refused obedience to our order. I am now considering what to doe in ye Thing. Sure I am I will not suffer his Majesties Authority to be slighted, but will see our order obeyed, & these proceedings by one means or other rased out of their books.

The Reports wch every day are transmitted hither from England of my Remove is ye principall cause of their stubbornesse, & indeed it is a misfortune to his Majesties Affairs that such rumors are spread, for I doe not believe that under ye Sun there are a people who are more apt to despise & affront their Governors, then some here are, & will be, if they have any imagination that they are to be recalled; but I know not how this can be helpt in such a Loose Age as this, when all men write and speak what they please; however, doubtless it much weakens his Majesties Authority.

The reason that I have writt all this is to introduce another matter wherein I desire you to aske my Lord Keeper & Sr Will: Jones ye Atturney Genr^ll^ their opinions; There is one Philpott a Haberdasher, who both in my Lord Berkeley's Time, & now since my coming, hath bin ye Principall Ringleader of these seditious people. This man, while ye eight Alderman were turned out, was

Digitized by Google

himselfe & one Gressingham chosen into ye places of Two of ye Aldermen, wch Election was by judgm^t^ of ye board made voyd. Sometime after ye Councell had given this sentence, this Philpott being master of one of ye Corporacions of ye City, & there being some Cupps wch belonged to them to be new cast, He, without orders of his Corporacion, directed a Motto to be put upon them, in these words: These Cupps were made in ye year when Philpott and Gressingham were Aldermen, which Cupps are constantly used at all ye Feasts in ye Citty. Now, perhaps, though ye Thing may seem but Triviall in it selfe, yet I conceive it is of some consequence to ye Governm^t^ that a kind of Memoriall should be kept, & every year sett before ye Faces of ye people contradicting an order of ye Ld Lieu^t^ & Councell who have adjudged these men not to be Aldermen, & that their Election was totally irregular and voyd, & that, to ye end there might be no memory of such irregularities, all proceedings relating to it should be raced out of ye bookes.

I am very sure ye Citty will never be in any tollerable quiett till some few of ye Chiefe Incendiarys doe smart for it; being loath in my owne nature to make use of power for ye chastisement of such exorbitancies, I have been watching to lay hold of some particular to fix upon any one of them, wch might bear an Indictm^t^ in some of ye Kings Courts, & if I mistake not, this will upon ye score of sedition; wherefore I desire you to take some opportunity to speake wth these Two persons before mentioned, so soon as conveniently you can, & let me know their opinions; I would not have it discoursed of abroad, but only to aske them privately, & let me understand their sense. The insolencies of some of these little Fellows have bin insufferable, & what course soever I shall thinke fitt to take wth them, I would be glad to be fortified wth ye judgm^t^ of those Two great men, I mean my Lord Keeper & Mr Atturney, being loath to beginne wth any of them in a Point wch will not certeinly hold.

* * * * *

Digitized by Google

CC.—William Harbobd to the Earl of Essex.

May it please y^R Excellency, 30 Jan. 1674.

* * * * *

The Lords & Bishops have spent some time at Lambeth, & brought *their debates to severall heads tending to a prosecution of ye papists, & a proclamation is coming out accordingly.*[a] The particulars I refer till I have the Honor to waitè on you on that side the water. *King is discontented at some thing extremely,* & hath been so *these two days, but I can not learne at what; I am apt to thinke* tis' *ye ill posture of his Affaires, for Trear. can not tell what to doe for mony & hath this weeke again stopt all* payments.

Yesterday, upon hearing my L^d Trẽar did consent to allowe the Forths 20000lb. in full for their defalcations, *Ranelagh opposed them much,* & would *faine have had it, but* 16 (?) *in hopes y^t they would have bribed him to have helped them; but it would not doe,* & I believe *they will not forgive him. I have much to say upon this subject but shall differ it* till my comming.

* * * * *

CCI.—Henry Thynne to the Earl of Essex.

My Lord, London, January 30th, 167¾.

* * * * *

His Ma^ty was pleased yesterday in Councell to tell them that he designed to give all the satisfaction that could be desired of his firmenesse to the Church of England and zeale ag^t the Papists, and to that end will put out a Proclamation (as I am informed) to this effect.

To take off the stopp in the Court of Excheq^r against the Con-

[a] Danby had made up his mind to a frank return to the policy of Clarendon, an alliance of the Church and Government against all forms of Dissent.

Digitized by Google

victing of Papists, and to quicken the prosecution of them in the Country.

That all Papist Priests borne His Ma^tys^ Subjects depart the Kingdome, notwithstanding any pretence of attendance on the Queen or any Ambass^rs^.

That none shall heare Masse either at the Queen's or any Ambass^rs^ Chappell but their owne meniall Servants.

No Papist shall Breede his children abroad in any Popish Colledges or Semenarys, but to send for them away that are there.

No Papist to come to Court Except the Queen's Servants upon paine of being sent to the Tower of London, or to the Gatehouse if of inferior quality.

His Ma^ty^ will likewise declare ag^t^ Conventicles, and that his Licences for Preaching are revoked.

This, I hope, will make the Parliam^t^ meete in good humour in Aprill, for it is not doubted but they will sitt then. I shall not enlarge yor Ex^cys^ trouble at present any farther then to subscribe myselfe wth all respect.

* * * * *

CCII.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R^ EXCELLENCY, 2 Feb. 1674.

* * * * *

All things look as if the Parliament would sitt in Aprill, & a very severe proclamation is comming against the Fanaticks & Romanists. *I finde the court hopes to gett money, but I am apt to believe that they may mistake their measures; neither doth Duke Lod. desire it, least it should cost them deare one way or other; if Parl. give no money & express or hint at the cause, Kg his necessities, if not this time the next, will oblidge him to yield to any reasonable thing. The warrs are like to last abroad;* there is a great *rumor of a warr* w^th^ *Spaine;* I should be hartely sorry for. There is a bill

Digitized by Google

exhibited in the Excheq. in order to a Tryall at Barr against ye young Lady Percy, & y^r^ Excellency is made a party. *My Ld Newport shelters himselfe* under *D. M.*[a] interest. Captain Buckley is sent to ye Tower for attempting to Challenge my Ld Ossory, *I heare that Ormond is sent for over*, as also *Orrery*. This is all the trouble I shall give y^r^ Excellency at present.

Hoping to kisse y^r^ hands suddainly and Renew me, &c.

* * * * *

CCIII.—Memorandum of Sir William Temple.

Hague, Feb^ry^ 5: S. N: 75.

The great discourse and business of thees Provinces turnes at present upon the proposition made last weeke to the Prince from the province of Gelderland wch makes him the offer of that Dukedome. His H^sse^ receaved it coldly enough and said it was a thing Hee could give no answer to without the advice of the other Provinces wch Hee would aske. In pursuite hereof Hee writt to the Provinces of Holland, Zealand, and Vtrecht, and thereupon an ext^ry^ Assembly of the States of Holland was convoyned to meet heer on Thursday next, and deliberate what advice to give His H^sse^ upon this matter. There runns a noyse that the Deputys of Haerlem will propose in this Assembly and upon this occasion that an offer of the same nature with that of Gelderland may be made to the Prince from this Province likewise. Yet I am not very apt to believe it, though as the present constitution stands it would not perhaps bee openly opposed in the States.

But the fruite is not yet ripe enough to bee gathered, though it may bee faire and in reach, and the jealosy would bee perhaps too much to give a countrey wch has so great a foreign affaire upon their back. That it will bee necessary for supporting it to have good health and good temper within. The Pen^sr^ Fagel pretends to have no parte in all this affaire or counsell, and not to know the Princes

[a] Duke of Monmouth.

Digitized by Google

mind upon it, Hee saies it is a thing of the greatest weight that can happen to the Prince, and wch admitts of the most to bee said for and against it, but is positive that if the soveraignty of Holland and Zealand should bee offer'd the Prince by the States Hee would refuse it. Yet if this of Gelderland should bee done and goe no further, it would have perhaps an ill effect towards the Province of Holland by engaging the Prince in the Patronage of a poore Province (wch has ever beene failing in their proportion of payments to the State) and thereby in contests with the Province of Holland, wch has beene of late very peremptory in suffering no abatement to bee made the Province of Gelderland upon account of what they have suffered in the late warr. I thought it became mee to give you this short account of an affaire of so much consequence as this may prove, and whereof you will in a shorte time know both the bottome and the event, neither of wch I will yet pretend to judge of.

At the same time, with this of so much weight in this Province, is happened a pleasant one in Friedland. The young Prince of Nassau being newly chosen Statholder of the Countrey of Drente (as He was before of Frizeland and Groningen) Mon^sr^ Rabenhaut, that was Drossart or chief Magistrat of that Countrey, when hee heard of the Princes accepting it, said before some of His officers that Hee had done contre son honeur et son serment; upon report heereof the young Prince of Nassou sente to him formally to know whether Hee had said so or no. Mon^sr^ Rabenhaut avowed it, and upon their asking it under His hand gave it them. The Prince hereupon sente him worde that Hee was un Coquin et avoit menty. Mon^sr^ Rabenhaute in returne sente an officer to the Prince with a formall challenge to fight with him on horseback with pistolls, wch was very ext^ry^ from an Officer to His Capitaine, and more from a man of seventy two years old to a youth of 16 or 17. The Officer who carried the challenge was seased on and laid up, and an account of the whole affaire sente to His H^sse^, wch will end, I suppose, in Mon^sr^ Rabenhautes beeing heard no more of theese countreys, from whence they say Hee is allready privately retired into Germany.

Digitized by Google

The Duke of Brandenburgh has written a very resolute letter to the Prince to assure His H^sse of His continuing firme in the party notwithstanding what His countrey may suffer from the Swedes, but at the same time demanding the Guaranty given Him by this State and their Allies, wch is allready resolved on by Hollande, Zealand, Vtrecht. In the meane time the Swedish Amb^r presses very much towards a composition betweene His Master and that Elector, and seemes touched at nothing so much as the danger of losing the figure that crowne has held so long of Mediator in the present warr, having expostulated very hard with the Deputys at a late Conference about their having taken no notice of His Master in the late resolutions and applications to His Ma^ty as Mediator concerning the place of congress.

They write from Colen that the most Chr^n King has accepted Meurs, wch advice comes from the Bp of Strasburgh thither, but the certainty of it must bee expected from His Ma^ty or more directly from France.

CCIV.—William Harbord to the Earl of Essex.

May it please y^r Excellency, 6 Feb., 1674, London.

* * * * *

It seems y^t *Con : hath advised Essex to desire Trear : his kindness in obtaining from Kg. some helpe towards the purchase* of Essex house. I am sure did *Essex see how affaires stand here & on how ticlishe a posture he is in*, & particularly *how he*[a] & *Viner* (?) *stand in open defiance to the whole nation, Essex would scarcely imparte with him now ;* but that is not all, *there are some members have abstracted the prodigious gwifts & grants* y^t *have lately passed to himselfe & others, that I feare he may be blamed & Kg. his affaires suffer thereby*, & I would not for *the whole world have Essex men-*

[a] Sc. Danby.

Digitized by Google

tioned as a man who attempts to apply any great summe of the publique money to his private advantage. I doe not dout in the least the seeing Essex master of Essex house, & that without *clamour or the least discontent; & Essex stands so great in the reputation of all good men here,* and *Kg. as certainly how much cheaper if not better he is served by Essex than Trear:* that I protest *before God I had rather loose ten thousand pounds myselfe then have Essex aske and prese for it at this time till we see what Essex*[a] *will doe, and in what a condition affaires will be in then.* I make no dout but that *Con: & Ran: will promote Essex his desires in this; but I dare say they intend to make him paye for it, in sacrificing him to Kg. & Kingdome. I beseech Essex most humbly to excuse me, but as Essex & his fame is dearer to me then my selfe or my owne, I can not but begg him also to have a little patience & see a few weekes over before he press this; &* I dare saye y^t^ *Trear: well as soone harken to me as either to Ran: or Con. if he intends in friendship; but if otherwise then indeed they are much fitter. I doe not think Ran. so safe if the Parl. proceede wisely, for Kg. hath so disobliged the papists by this act of councell that being told so by Elliot, & that if he went back he would loose the protestants too,* & then he *might looke to himselfe, Kg. said that all the horses in towne should not drawe him off, & that he had so long harkened to those fooleries that he would aske Parl.* nothing, *but that if they thought fit he would be glad they tooke some care for the defence of the nation; but mortall men are subject to change.* I have sent y^r^ Excellency ye Act of Councell *Patrick talks of. Almoner Howard & all that crewe are packing* up their trunks, & my *L^d^ Bp.* Zealous *as Laud. hath been in this refformation, I believe Parl. will blowe him againe.*

* * * * *

[a] *Sic* in original; but it appears to be a clerical error.

Digitized by Google

CCV.—William Harbord to the Earl of Essex.

May it please y^R^ Excellency, 9 Febr. '74.

* * * * *

Yesterday morning I was w^th^ *Kg.* & acquainted him wth my intentions for Ireland in a few days. He *spoke of Essex* w^th^ *all the kindnesse immaginable,* & hath promised me *his letter to that effect. The last night Trear. told me before Ran. that Kg. had readely agreed to give* 12,000 *lb. for Essex house for Essex. I was surprised at it, & I could hartely wish y^t^ the thing had not been proposed in this manner nor by those hands; but above all things not at this time. 'Tis not my sence, but the opinion of all your wisest friends;* & I finde already y^t^ *Ran. begins to baule it out, valuing himselfe much upon it, and so doth the speaker,* and I dout not but that Mr *Thinne will raise his price bravely* when He knowes it. I am sure were y^r^ Excellency *here you would be of my oppinion,* wch I will, however, submitt to y^r^ Excellencies better judgment. *I still believe Parl. will meete, & Arl., Laud., & Angl. will be in danger,* & perhaps *Trear. also & Ran. At my comming over I will at large give Ess. an account of things here,* & I hope God willing *to sett out Munday next.* Mr Robinson intends to doe *the same.*

* * * * *

CCVI.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Danby.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, Feb. 10, 167⅘.

* * * * *

Since my coming into this Employm^t^ I have not mett wth any Thing of much difficultie or uneasinesse, except only ye disorders

Digitized by Google

wch I found this Citty in at my Arrivall, & indeed ye Secretary of that person, who was here before me, did for some of his owne private ends enflame a feud that was beginning between ye Aldermen & Coñons to that degree as I could never wth all ye Industry & faire means I have used for these Two Years, bring them to any composure. There was a Meeting in ye Time of my Lord Berkely about ye building of a bridge, wch came to that height, as Sr Arthur Forbese was forced to draw out ye Guards, & fire among them, & kill some men before he could make them quiett; And tho' I doe not now see any ground to apprehend a Tumult, or Sedition like that, yet ye Stubborness of ye Coñons at this present is such as, unless some course be taken wth ye principall Incendiarys, I fear it cannot but end in mischiefe. A litle before my coming over there were 8 Aldermen & ye Record^r most violently & irregularly thrust out of their places, and his Maẗie was pleased by a letter to referre to me & ye Councell ye hearing & determination of that matter: We spent severall days upon it, & having heard Councell at large on both sides, we declared ye proceedings in turning out these Aldermen & ye Record^r to be (as indeed they were) both contrary to ye Customs of ye Citty, & ye Rules of Coñon Justice; & thereupon ordered ye Aldermen & Record^r to be replaced, & to ye end that no memory might remain of such undue & illegall proceedings, we also ordered that all Entrys relating to ye expulsion of these men should be raced & blotted out of their books, as ye Copy of ye Order herew^th enclosed will more fully informe y^r L^p. The Aldermen tooke their places agen, but in regard of some unsetlednesse in their Assemblys & some irregularities & inconstancy in their meetings, this latter part of our Order concerning ye rasure was suffered to rest till of late; but being some weeks since informed by ye Mayor, that our Order was not compleatly executed, we sent a 2nd Order of Councell requiring their Obedience, whereupon at an Assembly called for that purpose, ye Mayor and Aldermen unanimously agreed to comply, but ye Coñons denied it, wch being signified to us by y^e

Digitized by Google

Mayor & Sheriffs, we sent another Order to them expresly comanding their conformitie, wth direction to returne ye names of those who should vote ag^t^ it. Upon this an Assembly being called, & ye Order read, most of ye Comons immediately forced open ye doors, & in a tumultuous manner broke up ye Assembly. As for these Entrys upon ye books, we can send for ye books themselves to ye Councell, & cause those parts directed in our Order to be expunged there. It seems to me a Thing insufferable to permitt men to goe away wth Acts of disobedieuce unpunished, & therefore unlesse some severitie be used upon those 3 or 4 persons who incite ye rest to sedition, his Majesties Authoritie will I fear be much weakened, & this I should be extreamly ashamed to see in my Time. Besides In this case tis considerable that, Dublin being ye Capitall Citty, other Corporacions will take example by them, & ye patterne may run throughout ye whole Kingdome: But there being Leisure to consult his Majesties pleasure herein, I give y^r^ L^p^ ye trouble of this large Letter, & desire you would be pleased to acquainte him wth y^r^ substance thereof, & that I may have Order, whether I shall only see those proceedings raced out of ye books, & doe nothing further, or whether it may not be fitt that I likewise inflict some punishment upon these Incendiarys, who stire up ye people to sedition.

There are severall Lres before me for ye Remittall of Quitrents, these being all upon ye same Foot wth some others for such like Remittalls (copies whereof I have already sent y^r^ L^p^). I doe not acquainte you wth ye particulars, but intend to stop them all, till from y^r^ L^p^ I shall receive a signification of his Majesties pleasure upon this subject.

Digitized by Google

CCVII.—Sir H. Coventry to the Earl of Essex.

My Lord, Whitehall, Febr. 15th, 167⅘.

This is onely to send my most hearty service to you by Mr Harbord my very good friend; hee will tell you by word of mouth more of the state of our Affaires then I canne communicate by letter. I hope hee will satisfy yr Excy, or at least bring you satisfaction from a better hand, how groundlesse all those reports raysed by some of yr Excllys ennemys were. I will assure you my Ld since my attending his Maty in this place, I never heard him speake but wth greate kindnesse of your person and greate valew for your care and conduct. The criticall time is now coming to show us what the complexion of our Affaires is. The genll peace is much talked of on all sides and as much wished by the cõmon people, but the stepps the greate ones make towards it make mee beleeve this Campagne is like to end before a treaty bee begunne, not so much as the place of treaty, nor Mediatours as yet agreed on. The Kg. if France hath accepted the Venetians, what the Confederates will doe wee are yet to learne. His Maty seemeth very well resolved in the course hee hath begunne to take in satisfying his people in the point of Religion, and I beleeve will give them farther testimonys at the meeting of the Parliament. God grant it have a right effect, and that wee see a happy vision at home, and then wee may wth more security to endeavour a peace for those abroad.

* * * * *

Digitized by Google

CCVIII.—The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Danby.

My Lord,[a] Dublin Castle, February 16, 1674-5.

W^th^ much satisfaction I have received y^r^ favour of y^r^ L^ps^ most oblieging Letter of ye 28th of January. I do well know that ye many great affairs wch are in y^r^ L^ps^ hands cannot but hinder you from giving early dispatch to those of this country, wch are of lesse moment, and therefore now, whilst my Lord Ranelagh is in England, y^r^ L^p^ may by him tell me y^r^ mind in matters relating to this Kingdome; and, having had so many instances to confirme ye assurance of y^r^ L^ps^ kindnesse, I cannot but rest satisfied that I am possest of y^r^ L^ps^ favour, which is a thing I have ever bin most ambitious of.

From my Ld Conway I understand that y^r^ L^p^ has bin pleased to move His Majestie to grant me a summe of money for ye purchase of Essex House, & that His Majestie has consented to it; y^r^ L^p^ has therein layd a perpetuall obligacõn upon me; ye thing being not only valuable in its selfe, but of twice its worth to me, in regard of ye convenience it will ever be to my family, & it is gratefying my humor more then another matter of double ye value. I have bin acquainted wth all His Majesties great Ministers since his happy restauration; some of them had personall obligations to have done me a kindnesse, but this I can say that none of them till y^r^ L^p^ have ever endeavord to be instrumentall in one of this sort, & therefore y^r^ L^p^ may easily judge at what price I shall rate this y^r^ L^ps^ favor.

The Reports of my Remove have sounded pretty loudly here, but I confesse I could never give ye least creditt to it; being fully assured that His Majestie would have signified his pleasure to me. Had it been so, yet however these discourses have ill effects in ye Affairs of ye Kingdome, making ye people (whilst they expect a

[a] On the same date Essex writes to Ranelagh in the same sense.

Digitized by Google

change) to grow resty and stubborn ag^{t} ye comands of ye present Govern^{r}.

That proposalls wch I make have generally so good successe in England, I cannot but attribute to y^{r} L^{ps} kindnesse to me, and as I shall never offer any but such as appear to me to be for ye publick good, so I doubt not of ye continuance of y^{r} L^{ps} assistance in those things wch I shall advise.

I am clearly of opinion that it were best a Parliam^{t} did meet here before ye Farme of ye Revenue were absolutely sett, but y^{r} L^{p} knows ye sense his Matie hath how inconvenient it may be to have one sitting in England and another here at ye same time. And a Parliam^{t} here cannot well be called under five or six months preparac̃on, in regard of ye forms necessary thereunto, for ye Bills must be prepared and passe in Councell here, and transmitted into England and passed in Councell there, & remitted back hither; all which will require some space of time. Therefore, if His Majestie have thoughts of a Parliam^{t} before ye expiration of ye present Farme, we must prepare for it speedily, or otherwise it cannot be convened in due time.

I doe heartily wish his Matie may finde ye good effects expected from ye proclamation lately issued, & that ye Parliam^{t} in England may meet in good humor.

* * * * *

CCIX.—Lord Ranelagh to the Earl of Essex.

May it please yor Exc^{cy}, February, 20th, 1674.

* * * * *

Last night the King sent for me and commanded me to acquaint y^{r} Exc^{cy} that he is willing Sr George Hamilton should have five

Digitized by Google

hundred recruites out of Ireland for his Regiment now in France. To give a publique order for it, he thinks noe wayes convenient, therefore chose to lay his commands upon me to acquaint your Ex^cy privately with his mind. Sr George hath promised those he instructs there shall make their levyes and transport their men with soe much care and privacy, that little or noe notice shall be taken of it—the lesser the better—for the Dutch Embassador, upon the news of any such thing, would loudly complayne. But y^r Ex^cys management will, I am sure, prevent any noyse.

* * * * *

CCX.—Petition of Torys to the Earl of Orrery.

To the R^t Honble the Earle of Orrery.

The humble Peticon of
Ballerius Donoughoe,
Dermod Hurly,
Patrick Donoughoe, Danell Sweeny,
Fineens O'Donoughoe,
John O'Heagerty,
Donoughoe, O'Conor, John Connell,
John Corkery.

Whereas yor pet^rs, through many Disasters, Dearth of Cattle & other Calamities were brought so low that they were not able to discharge their Rents and Debts, soe that their Creditors obtained Executions ag^t them, and to avoid being taken on them, and the fear of perishing in Gaole if they should bee once taken on them, forced yor petico^rs to follow a very Loose Life, wch they acknowledge to bee ag^t ye Law of both God and man, and are heartily sorry for it.

Digitized by Google

They therefore presume to make their humble address to yor Lo^{p} to prescribe some way whereby yor pet^{rs} may obtain safety and pardon for their Lives, and they will justify that they never were guilty of murther or in company with any that ever murthered. And yor pet^{rs} will give sufficient Securityes for their future peaceable behaviour, & in case any Toryes shall rise in the Countrey hereafter, they will contribute their utmost endeavours even to ye hazard of their Lives to Suppress and have them taken & bee brought before ye Law, and will bee a meanes to detect divers who have concealed the Toryes robbd and stolne goods.

And yor pet^{rs} shall ever pray.

DANIELL MCSWYNUY.
JOHN × CONNELL,
his marke.
JOHN × CORKERY,
his marke.
JOHN HACGERTY.
DONOGH × O'CONNER,
his marke.

FINEENS × O'DONOUGHOE,
his marke.

BALLERIUS × DONOUGHOE,
his marke.
DERMOD HURLY.
PATRICK × O'DONOUGHOE,
his marke.

CCXI.—PROPOSALS OF PARISH PRIESTS REGARDING TORYS.

Whereas certaine queres and proposalls in relation to the suppressing of Toreys, Murderers, Thieves, and Robers have beene directed unto us by the Worshipfull the Comissioners apoynted to that purpose by his Exelency the Lord Lif^{t}, And particularly instructed by the right honourable the Earle of Orrery, Major

Digitized by Google

Generall of his Maties forces in Ierland, Wee, the undernamed parrish priests in the County of Kyery, have chearfully receaved the said proposalls, and doe undertake and faithfully promise by our preaching, teaching, and all other meanes belonging to oure function, to bestowe oure best endeavours towards furthering soe Cristian and nessesary a worke, and particularly as followeth:

1. That in our respective congregations wee shall publike and solemnly declare, and denounce, all toreys, murtherers, thieves & Robers out of our Coñunion, never to be receaved untill due submission and satisfaction be made to the parteys offended and constant resolution by them made never to coñitt such crimes againe.

2. That we shall use the same measure towards all persons of oure coñunion that will assist, protect, or harbor any the said malefactors in theire crimes, or willingly receave, keepe, or conceal any goods by them unlawfully taken.

3. That wee will oblidge all such of our respective that shall chance to have certaine notice of the said malefactors, theire assistance or harbourers, to detect the same unto some of the said commissioners or some other honest responsable person that will undertake to doe the same for them, soe it may be done without truble or prajedice to the said enformers.

4. That each parrish prist shall in a booke write & enrole the nams and surnams of all the inhabitance of his parrish above the Age of twelve years, and mark such as will not come to the pascall communion, for such may deservedly be suspected.

5. That the said parrish priests shall not be urged particularly to enforme against any person or persons of the above Crimes or be questioned about any restitution by theire means, to be made how or by whome the same is done.

6. That according the desier of the said Commisioners, wee, the said parrish priests, will name and apoynte a zelous & able prist that will from time to time receave such further instructions as the said Commisioners shall be pleased to send us in relation to this work, and exact an Account from us of oure proceedings there-

Digitized by Google

upon to be returned to the said Commisioners, who shall be empowered to assemble us or call before him us at any time he thinks requisit to that effect.

7. For the most effectually compassing this most laudable worke, and least what one shall doe another may undoe, that noe other prist may administer the Sacraments or exercise pastorall function in any parrish without the consent of the proper curat and aprobation of the overseers, otherwise such as by him rejected may be by another receaved and served.

8. Lastly, we will every of us in particular publish these oure resolves and undertakins the first Sunday of each munth, least any may pretend ignorance or thinke we should slaken therein & presse the same with more earnestness & confidence then heare to fore, hoping that as it hath pleased the secular power to make us of oure endeavours in this affaire, soe it will defend us from such violence as some of us were often in feare of & suffered some times by invoking & exclaiming ag^{t} such malefactors.

Yett not with standing all the endeavours by us to be in this matter bestowed which wee realy intend and faithfully promise, we feare will not be soe effectual as wished, unlesse some expedient course be taken in some things wee observed and humbly offer to your consideration.

1. Wee understand that towards every Assizes the goals and prisons are full of malefactors or suspected for such, and yett seldome any correction, butt that those persons enlarged become worse than before as comonly wee heare bruited, and sure stealths & roberies are dayly comitted in every corner of the county.

2. That, whereas these Malefactors fall upon the poore & weaker sort, as widows, orphans, & such as are of few Abilitys, such persons and perhaps others of greater consideration when they can discover the Malefactors will sooner receave some satisfaction from them then publish the matter, or bring them to the law, for soe they expect to save some thing, and if they informe against them they shall be bound over to prosequte ag^{t} the Malefactor and per-

Digitized by Google

haps attend att two or three Assizes, and though the thiefe were convict receave noe consideration for his good or cost. All is forfited & taken up by the Shiriffe or Senescall, and who will have the confidence or zeale for the publick wealth to putt himselfe to such truble & cost, and how shall wee be able to persuade him soe to doe.

3. It being notorious the said fall upon the weaker and meaner sort of people, seems those of power & stocke finding theire owne secure doe not bestir themselves in suppressing those misdemenors requisit, the Comisioners in their Wisdome contrive a way whereby such persons may be engaged in the worke, & have correspondency with & countenance the prists in relation to theire proceedings hearin.

Proposall from ye Romish Priests, &c.

CCXII.—The Earl of Essex to Sir H. Capel.

Deare Brother, Dublin Castle, March 2, 7⅘.

Mr Harbord being arrived, I received ye severall Letters by him & my Cousen Wisemen. As to ye matter of Essex House, I have discussed it fully wth Mr Harbord, & tho' I am satisfied that both of you doe advise me that wch you thinke for the best, yet I cannot imagine, all circumstances considered, why I should refuse it, unlesse 'twere proper for me to putt a notorious Affront upon his Majestie, & ye greatest disobligac̃on upon my Lord Treasurer imaginable. I doe believe that what y^r^ selfe & Mr Harbord have done in this Affaire will encrease ye price at least one or two thousand p^ds^, & I am sure I gave you early notice enough by a Lr̃e in cypher, wch way this matter was moving, & desired that Mr Harbord might use his Industry in bringing downe ye price, & that was all He had to doe, instead of wch every one was told

Digitized by Google

that I was not like to accept it, wch has so bungled ye buisnesse as I fear it will not come so cheap as it otherwise might have done. Mr Harbord hath now undertaken to see ye purchase gone through w^th, & by this post hath writt Lr̃es to that purpose into England. Upon ye whole I would not have you imagine that I thinke you did other then what you presume best for me, tho' I doe not agree wth you in this particular.

* * * * *

I desire you would for ye present forbear paying any more debts. & reserve what money you have, & what I shall send in stocke for ye purchase of Essex House.

CCXIII.—The Earl of Bristol to the Earl of Essex.

My Lord, London, March the 7th, 167½.

Although I have not troubled you with unnecessary Letters, I assure you I have been watchfull of all occasions wherein I might in any kind bee serviceable to you, But none hath offered itself, worthy your receiving a particular account of, untill the other day, that Information was brought mee several wayes, and with such Circumstances as make it Credible, that you were to bee recall'd out of Ireland. Whereupon I demanded a private Audience of the King, And at it express'd my self unto him in your concerns, as I thought so faithful a friend and humble servant of yours as I am ought to do.

The King's Reply to mee was, That you had served him so eminently well in that Employment, That if you were not in Ireland alreadie, Hee would purchase you at any Rate to send you thither, And that hee did not know how his affaires in that Kingdome could subsist without you, you having had the good fortune not only to please himself, But even all opposite parties, And thus

Digitized by Google

much hee allowed mee to tell you, and bid you Rely on, which having done, I have nothing to adde, but a renewall of assurance that I am with the same fidelity that ever.

CCXIV.—The Earl of Essex to Charles II.

May it please y^R^ Majestie,

I have recd y^r^ Majesties gracious Lre for ye Grant of thirteen thousand pds, wch favor I doe wth all humilite & gratitude acknowledge. The Mony was intended for ye purchase of Essex House, wch being a most Conspicuous marke of ye Maties bounty, & an honour permanent to my Family, would therefore many Times double ye value of ye gift, & had those whom I Employ'd in England pursued my directions, ye purchase had bin made ere this; but they, causing a most unnecessary demurre, have given an opportunity to another person to contract for it, wch perhaps may prevent ye placing this favor on me in ye manner it was designed; yet if y^r^ Majestie please to refraine ye granting a Licence for building on new foundations there ye matter may be retrieved, & y^r^ Majesties Liberality applied as was at first proposed, but if this this cannot be compassed, I shall reserve y^r^ Majesties gracious intentions towards me for some other opportunity, assuring y^r^ Majestie that y^r^ favourable thoughts cannot be bestowed on any person who will owne them with a more gratefull mind, nor who wth more zeale doth endeavor to meritt ye Title of

The most faithfull & most
obedient of y^r^ Majesties
Subjects & Servants,
Essex.

Dublin Castle, March 17.
To the King.

Digitized by Google

CCXV.—Lord Ranelagh to the Earl of Essex.

May it please Yo[r] Ex[cy], March the 30th, 1675.

The honour of Yo[r] Ex[cy] of the 8th and 16th instant I have receaved, and am very sorry my endeavors to secure Essex House to Yo[r] Ex[cy] have noo better suceeded. The Bargaine with Doctor Barebone[a] is doubtless a reall one, att least as farre as articles interchangeably, signed and sealed, can make itt. But as yett he hath nether payd any of his money, nor receaved any conveyance. Howsoever, encouraged by M[r]. Gregory, one of the Executors and some others, I feare of greater quality, he hath entred upon the garden, which he hath absolutely destroyed, and layd thoro it the foundation of that street which he designes; and this in defyance of the order of Councell, by which he was to show cause why the King might not comply with the Templers disyre. To morrow the Councell meets, and this insolent proceeding of his will be complayned off, and I daresay he will not onely then receive a cheque, but alsoe whatsoever obstruction the King by law can give him. M[r]. Thinns, I must owne, hath all along been both civill and friendly to Y[r] Ex[cys] pretence, and will continue soe as long as there is the least hopes; and whilst there is soe Mr. Cratford and I will neglect nether means nor opportunities to recover itt, tho' we cannot finde any reason to hope that any of the price will be abated, for I may safely assure Y[r] Ex[cy] the bargaine att 13,000 is soe farr from an ill one that the Doctor will, without medling with any of the building himself, cleare att least two or three thousand pounds by itt. And this I am informed from severall hands.

* * * * *

[a] The famous building contractor, so well described in Roger North's autobiography.

Digitized by Google

CCXVI.—The Earl of Essex to Lord Ranelagh.

My Lord, Dublin Castle, Aprill 7, 75.

Yesterday I received y^rs of ye 30th of March, being ye first Packet arrived here since ye Losse of ye Yacth, whereby we understand who perished & who were saved, which I conceive I need not repeat, for ye particulars you will have from ye Coast on that side.

As to Essex House it will y^r L^ps Lr̃e tells me depend on that point, whether ye King can prohibite ye building on new foundations. This hath in all former times bin taken for granted, yet, however, I am sorry that a concerne of mine should occasion a dispute of ye King's Prerogative; ye spoile of ye Garden cannot be much materiall, in regard a little mony will, I am confident, put it in order, so as that shall not hinder me from pursueing my intention, in case this bargain wth Dr. Barebone be vacated.

* * * * *

The French Recruits have had ill fortune; for tho' ye officers did their parts perfectly well in bringing them to a remote corner of Kerry w^thout noise, yet ye French Ships that were appointed to take them in, failing many days, and when they did come, which was 20 days after their Time, instead of coming to Dingle came to Kinsale, and there divulged in ye Towne that they came to fetch men for ye Service of France, so as ye Officers, finding ye Thing grew too publick, have themselves, I hear, dismissed most of ye men.[a] I gave them all connivance that possibly I could, seeming not to believe ye news for a Packett or two. But at last when it was too much ye publick discourse I was forced to send orders to dismisse any of them that should be found in that Country, and as those Orders will be Justification enough that these Levies were not permitted by Authority, so I am sure on ye other hand ye very Officers themselves will clear me to His Majestie, that I have allowed them all ye fair play in their businesse that wth decencie they could expect, and that ye disappointment proceeded purely from ye Errors comitted by ye Cõmanders of ye French ships.

* * * * * *

[a] Charles was, at the time that he allowed France to recruit in Ireland, posing as mediator in the war.

Digitized by Google

CCXVII.—Concerning ye Charters to Corporacõns.

In most of ye Corporacõns of Ireland ye Freemen were generally Papists in ye Year 1641, & so continued till about 1654, & altho' most of ye persons who were then free may now be presumed to be dead, yet there being a custom in most corporacõns yt all ye sons of Freemen are also free of ye Corporacõn whereof their Fathers were free, there cannot but be now very many Papists living who are entitled to their freedoms in ye severall Corporacõns.

Since ye ending of ye Rebellion all ye Magistrates in Corporacõns have been generally Protestants, and many Protestants have bin also admitted to their freedoms, & in ye Usurpers Time all ye Papists that were Freemen were hindered from enjoying ye benefitt of their Freedoms.

Since ye Kgs restauracõn many disputes have happened concerning ye Papists, who were formerly free, being admitted agen into ye Corporacõns.

By a Letter from ye King dated ye 22th of May, 1661, his Mãtie declared his Pleasure yt ye respective former Inhabitants, Natives, & Freemen, & such as had right to be Freemen in any of ye Cittys or Towns in this Kingdome should be forthwth restored to their accustomed priviledges & Immunities, & admitted to Trade in ye sd respective Cittys & Towns, as freely as heretofore, without making any Nationall distinction or giving any Interruption upon pretence of difference of Judgmt or Opinion in matters of Religion.

Notwithstanding this Letter many of ye auntient freemen that were Papists were kept out of severall of ye Corporacions.

In ye Acts of Setlemt or Explanacõn there is no Clause that hinders any Papists from enjoying ye benefitt of their Freedoms, but there is a Clause that hinders any papist from buying or taking Leases of any forfeited Houses from ye 49 Officers wthout Licence of ye Ld Lieut & Councell.

Digitized by Google

His Mãtie afterwards by his Lr̃es bearing date ye 26th of Febr. 1671, in ye Time of ye Ld Berkeleys Goverment, did againe declare his Pleasure, that all ye auntient freemen of ye respective Corporac̃ons should enjoy their former freedoms and Priviledges, & that a generall Licence should be given to Papists to hire or purchase any forfeited Houses in Corporac̃ons, wch was accordingly done, & His Maties pleasure therein published by Proclamac̃on of ye Ld Lieu^t^ & Councell bearing date ye eighth of May, 1671.

The Rules since made by ye Ld Lieu^t^ & Councell in pursuance of a Clause contained in ye Act of Explanac̃on does hinder all Papists from being Magistrates in Corporac̃ons, unlesse dispens'd wth by ye Ld Lieu^t^ from taking ye Oath of Supremacy, but nothing in those Rules takes away from them ye benefitt of their freedoms, yet in some of ye Corporac̃ons (in wch ye number of Protestants is great) many of ye Papists are still kept out & hindered from their freedoms, as particularly in Cork, wch is now wholly inhabited by Protestants, & ye auntient Natives or Freemen are either dispersed in ye Country abroad, or doe only inhabite in ye suburbs without ye walls, but ye Trade is almost wholly carried on by ye Protestants.

Upon renewall of Charters great disputes are likely to arise betweene ye present Inhabitants & auntient Natives of severall of ye Corporac̃ons concerning ye hindring ye auntient Natives from, or admitting them to ye benefit of their freedoms.

If they should be hindred from their freedoms, they will complaine that there is no Law to take that benefitt from them; That it is unreasonable to hinder them from Trading & may be also prejudiciall to ye King in his Customs; And will force them to withdraw their Stocks beyond ye Seas, And that it is ag^t^ ye Kings Pleasure expressly declared by his severall Lr̃es, & since made publick by Proclamac̃on, upon confidence whereof (it will be pretended) may have come over to inhabite here. That by ye Rules, Papists, who are forreiners, may be admitted to be free in ye Corporac̃ons here; And that it will be hard to barr Papists, who are

Digitized by Google

Natives, from enjoying that Freedom, wch hath bin already granted them.

If they should all be generally admitted by ye new Charters to enjoy ye benefitt of their freedoms, ye protestant Inhabitants will complaine, y^t^ ye Corporac̃ons will be all presently filled wth Papists, as they were in ye year 1641, & ye Protestant Inhabitants thereby discouraged, y^t^ ye number of ye auntient Freemen, who are Papists, will be much greater then of Protestants, & thereby they will have ye choice of Parliam^t^ men; And ye House of Comons thereby will be fill'd wth Papists, who are not by any Law of force here hinderd from sitting in ye House; That it will be unreasonable, that such, who by reason of their not being adjudgd innocent, have forfeited their Estates, should be admitted to continue their freedoms, & it is to be feared y^t^ ye present Protestants Inhabitants, who will generally sollicite & take out ye Charters, will hardly be at ye charge of renewing them, if any provision should be therein made for all ye auntient Freemen to be restored to their Freedoms.

What expedients to propose herein seems to be very difficult, & it will be hardly possible to propose any that may satisfy both partys.

It may perhaps be a midle way to admitt only those Papists to their Freedoms who doe now actually enjoy ye benefitt thereof by ye Corporac̃ons themselves, may be excluded, or else to provide that those Papists, who have bin adjudgd Innocent, & their Heirs and Children shall enjoy ye benefitt of their Freedoms whereby only those who have not been admitted to enjoy their Estates will be hindred from their freedoms, but it is to be doubted whether either of these will satisfy ye parties concernd.

Digitized by Google

CCXVIII.—Henry Thynne to the Earl of Essex.

My Lord, London, Aprill 13th, 1675.

I doubt not but yor Ex^cy must have a particular concerne to know what has been the Issue of this day in which the Parliam^t hath assembled, where his Ma^ty made them a very gratious speech, Telling them That their meeting now was to advise what was yet to bee done for the Secureing both their Religion and propperty, and that there should bee nothing wanting on his part to shew his zeale for the maintenance of the Church of England, to which he would always firmely adhere. He like wise told them that he was sensible y^t there were severall disaffected persons that desired to have this Parliam^t dissolved, but that he was too sensible of the ill designes of the one & the Loyalty of the other to think of parting with this Parliam^t. His Ma^ty was like wise pleased to recomend to their care the providing some fund for building and repairing of Shipps, and at last did hint to them that this was like to bee a short Sessions, but that hee hoped to see them againe in the winter.

This is (I think) the Effect of his Ma^tys Speech, but dare not relye so much upon my ill memory as to give it yor Ex^cy for authentique, and there are no coppys to be had of it, the Speaker haveing put it into his pockett as soon as it had been read to the House.

After which there was a considerable debate concerneing returneing thanks to his Ma^ty for his Speech, which was at last resolved in the affirmative, but not for the whole Speech in Generall, but for his Ma^tys gratious promises of maintaineing their Religion and propertys, and for what hee was pleased to call them at this time to consider of the ways of doeing it.

I doubt not but yor Ex^cy will have a much more Exact Account of the proceedings of this day from some of the members that were present, but yet I could not soe much omitt my duty as to neglect the giveing yor Ex^cy the best acc^t I could get of this matter.

We have no forrain news considerable but of the P. of Orange's

Digitized by Google

being soe well recovered y^t^ hee has been at church to give thanks for his recovery.

The D. of Ormond arrived here yesterday.

M^r^. Sec^ry^ has his hands now so full of businesse and soe Little news of importance to acquainte yor Ex^cy^ with, that he begs yor Ex^cy^ Excuse that you doe not heare from him by this post.

CCXIX.—William Harbord to the Earl of Essex.

May it please y^r^ Exc^llt^, London, 17 Apr. 1675.

I gave you an account of my safe arrivall at Chester from thence, w^ch^, I suppose, considering the Easterly windes y^t^ have continued here ever since is ere this come to y^r^ hands. I gott heither on Thursday early, & had not my lame foote compelled me to make use of my Coache from Grafton I had reached this place sooner; the very first day of the Session *ye H. of Comons* had a long *debate* whether *they* should give *King thankes for his speech or adjourne, at ye last ye years carried it for thankes,* many of the *Lords protested in King his presence.* The *H. of Comons hath passed ye same vote against Lodderdale as formerly*, & y^e^ *Adresse to King for that purpose.* I will take order wth Mr Petit to have ye Journalls of both Houses transmitted weekly to y^r^ Excellency so long as wee sett; I delivered yesterday *Essex his Letter to King*, & had a long discourse w^th^ *him about ye affaires of Ireland* & particularly *asked* him if any thing under *Essex his conduct did displease him; he answered no, all as well as could be.*

* * * * *

Having observed at Dublin *y^t^ Loftus* & many of the *Irish* did much except & Complaine against *Essex* for the way *that* was used to suppresse *ye Tories* & *how bloody it was*, I thought best to

Digitized by Google

acquainte *King* wth the necessity of it & how impossible it was else to have *reduced them* considering the many & strong retreats they have; gave him some particular instances of ye violences they had since committed one upon another, ye effects it had had, & ye great peace & security the Country was in by *your great care & dilligence in that matter.* I left *them in my opinion well satisfied in all those things* I could then *thinke of.* Upon my very first arivall here I had notice given me that *Ranelagh & Seymour had endeavord to* possesse *Trear. that* notw^th^standing all y^t^ *W. Harbord* should *say to him, Trear. would see him sticke to Essex ag^t^* him & *bid him beware of him;* & being forewarned I prepared my self accordingly; I found him at first cooler in *his reception then when I left him,* whereupon I told him what I had heard & *parted from him* w^th^ *great kindnesse;* after at least 2 *hours discourse, during* w^ch^ *he shewd me severall Articles that were preparing* against *himselfe by Litleton, Powys, Meeres, Candish,* Sr John *Coventry,* &c., among wch there were two to this effect, if not in the same words, That *Trear. had privately contrived & contracted* w^th^ *Essex to share & governe all ye Affaires of Ireland contrary to all former formes to their mutuall benefitt* & advantage; & that in order to it *ye 2 Secretarys were kept wholly in ignorance & strangers to ye Affairs of that Kingdome. That Essex & Trear. had private Instructions between themselves; that Trear. had lately procured from King thirteen thousand pounds for Essex, of* w^ch^ *Trear. was to have three for himselfe,* That *Trear. had lately contracted* w^th^ *some persons* in the name of *Jeames Herbert for ye renewing of ye Irish Farme* & that *Essex was Privy to it,* whereby *Essex & Trear. would gett hundred thousand pounds to themselves;* he doth not seeme concerned at this storme but told me that he thought *that instead of Jeames they meant me; he hath many friends & they may* somewhat *bespatter him but not hurt him by it. Tis a Tryall of skill between Arlington & Trear.* w^th^ *ye malice of some members to either side to lett King see* w^ch^ *of them hath best interest.*

Digitized by Google

I suppose y^t y^r Excellency hath now receaved Sr Henry Capell's Letter about *Sec: Coventry*, whome I finde wonderfully *dissatisfied* w^th *Essex* & believes himselfe to have been extreamly *ill used by him, for ye other day* when *Essex writt to Ranelagh to move Trear. for a resolution from King* what *Essex* should doe wth those Letters & directions wch laye before *Essex; Ranelagh* did prepare the heads of an Order for to passe the Councell & *gave it to Trear. as he was goeing in. Trear. proposed it, & S. Coventry* did *make such a muttance* [?] *upon that affaire & so warmly reflecting on Trear. & his sending private Instructions to Essex* w^thout either *Secretary's knowledge; for want of* wch y^e *King's Commands* rendered ineffectual, & y^t the same were admitted in Forrain parts it might *endanger ye very publick safety of* the *Kingdome. I finde that Arlington* engaged warmly *for S. Coventry & many others on each side till at last King was forced to end ye debate* not only by interposing but expressing *an angry dislike of their warmth in that place; all this was put on Essex his shoulders*, for *Trear.* did *affirme that these private Instructions* (I meane those of July last from Windsore) *were desired* & writt by *Essex*, & y^t *Trear. had* 20 *Letters to shew to* y^t Effect. *Councell did aprove of ye private Instructions*, first in regard That *Trear.* assured *them* y^t *Essex writt for them* in order to the enabling him *to prevent ye granting & giving away ye King's Lands, Monys, &c., Rents, wch ye Seeretarys had bin very bold* w^th, but *Councell* were absolutely of opinion *that those Instructions aught to have bin enterd at ye Secretarys of* that Province *to* wch they were *sent*, y^e *not doeing whereof* even *Trear. ownes a great fault*, & saith *that he did really thinke it had bin donne. Sec: Coventry*, who at this time wayes[a] *infinitely in ye Nation, thought himselfe in ye Right, both as to Trear. sending Instructions to Ministers abroad, was so surprised to hear Trear. say that Essex had by Letters desired them*, & not in one thought fitt to communicate *ye having such to Coventry that he is I feare lost to Essex*, & to some of his most

[a] Weighs.

Digitized by Google

private friends complaines of *Essex his usage to him*, and this being *by them attributed* as a Returne for Essex House it hath great Effect *in altering mens minds from Essex, & think him not so well settled nor fixed in friendship* w^th^ *men of such principles as ye most virtuous men here now value & notwithstanding all my enemies may* suggest *to Essex I assure him* y^t^ I am most faithfully, &c.

* * * * *

I pray consider of some way of giving *Sec: Coventry* some satisfaction in this occasion[a] for he is most worthely y^r^ friend

---

CCXX.—The Earl of Essex to William Harbord.

M. Harbord, Dublin Castle, Apr: 24: 1675.

* * * *

* * * *

For what you say in ye latter end of y^r^ Lr̃e concerning Essex House, I am still of opinion y^t^ had not that matter bin bungled, it would not have made halfe ye noise it hath done, being only a Grace & bounty of his Majesties, & I cannot see why any man should thinke it amiss, y^t^ ye King should give me such a gift: My L^d^ D: of Ormond has rẽcd above 300,000lb. in this Kingdome, besides all his great places & Employment^ts^, & I am sure ye Losses in his private Estate have not bin equall to those I have suffered, & yet he is so happy as no exception is taken to it; but I am confident tis all idle talke, &, as I have already said, occasioned in a great measure by perplexing ye Affairs at first.

[a] Essex explains matters satisfactorily on April 24.

Digitized by Google

CCXXI.—The Earl of Essex to William Harbord.

Mr Harbord, Dublin Castle, April: 27: 75.

You have now at length cleared ye matter concerning Essex House, viz., yt because yr selfe was not employed in ye Affaire, you judged it inconvenient for me to have it; I cannot compare this wth any thing better then that wch you tell me in ye end of yr Lre, namely, yt in case Moneys be asked in ye House by any of ye Treasurers friends, ye opposite party are immediately resolved to putt in a charge agt ye Treasurer, so as in ye mean Time his Majesties Affairs are in a good posture, since ye Two Factions are separately resolved, yt ye publick shall not be supplied, unless it come purely by one of their means, each endeavouring by some by way to obstruct what ye other doth, & in ye like manner will my owne concerns be, if you hold to these methods, not to lett any Thing be done, but what yr selfe has a hand in, & are ye Doer thereof, wch I hope you will take warning for ye future, rather to observe what I direct then to oppose Things, because you did not advise them. In relacõn to ye House it selfe, tho' I would be glad to be master of it, if it might come fairly & hansomly, & like it ye best of any seat about ye Towne, yet I never desired or would engage any of my friends for Acts of Parliamt to serve private turns, but if in ye comõn prohibition of New buildings ye turning of this into Tenemts be obstructed, I would not omitt ye opportunitie of goeing on with that purchase, & this you may let any of ye members of Parliamt know either of mine or yr owne acquaintance.

In case any Thing should be stirring in Parliamt, as if I combined wth my Lord Trẽar to divert ye methods of governmt in this Kingdome, that wch I have writt at large to my brother in one by this packett, & Two other Letters, will sufficiently instruct both him & you, what to answer in it; you need not be nice in telling any of ye members ye Truth, should there be occasion for it, for I am apt to believe (if you manage ye Affaire rightly in England)

Digitized by Google

ye plain dealing wch I have steadily pursued, when it come to Light, will fix me firmer both in ye favor of his Majestie & in ye esteeme of all good men then ever I could have bin had not this instance to demonstrate it arrived.

I have some few days since rec̃d a Lr̃e from ye D. of Monmouth concerning young Mr Sarsfields death, & other particulars relating to y^t^ Estate ; Let ye Duke know, y^t^ I have only delayed ye Answering his Letter till I have advised wth ye Kgs: Councell here, & y^t^ in a little Time I shall be able to returne him an Acc^t^ wch will be satisfactory.

CCXXII.—Lord Ranelagh to the Earl of Essex.

May it please y^R^ Ex^cy^, London, Aprill 13th, 1675.

The Honour of yor Ex^lys^ of the 7th Instant I have Received, and shall not fayle to give his Ma^ty^ the account it brings of the French Recruites, wch I had donne this day, but that the beginning of the Parliament made it unseasonable. What passed in both Houses I am sure y^r^ Ex^ly^ will receave from better Hands. This day they satt much longer then is usuall the first of their meeting, and too morrow they meet againe, and it is thought their debates will be very warme.

As to Essex House, I cannot give y^r^ Ex^ly^ soe good an account as I would. Barebone we have had before the Councell twice, and the Orders upon his hearing are as large as care would allow them to be, My Lord Keeper and Lord Treasurer concerning themselves most Hartily to recover the House for y^r^ Ex^ly^, but nether of

Digitized by Google

them more earnest that way then the King Himself. Notwithstanding all, the Doctor goes on vigorously with his buildings, most of which he designes to finish by the latter end of next month, and I feare if the Houses once gett up, a jury will not easily find it a nusance.

* * * * *

Digitized by Google

INDEX.

Aldworth, Mr., 118
Anglesea, Earl of, 111, 187, and *passim*
Anonymous, 39
Arlington, Earl of, *passim*
Arundel, Lord, of Wardour, 60
Aungier, Lord, letters xlv., lvii., cvi., cix., and *passim*

Barebone, Dr., 312, 323
Berkeley, Lord, 13, 62, 103, 105, 262, 279, and *passim*
Boyle, Michael, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, 104
Bridgman, William, 110, 121, and *passim*
Bristol, Earl of, ccxiii.
Brouncker, Mr., 67
Buckingham, Duke of, 131, 160, 162, 167, 173, and *passim*
Burlington, Lord, 280
Burnside, Mr., 83
Byron, Sir R., 86.

Campsie, Mr., 83
Capel, Sir H., 73, 85, 126, 154, and *passim*
Carlingford, Lord, 196, 220
Catholics, 36, 48, 61, 65, 74, 76, 90, 93, 113, 135, 166, 193
Charles II., *passim*
Charles V., Emperor, 71
Chiffinch, 258, 266, 271
Churchill, MS., 159
Clare, Lord, 80
Cleveland, Duchess of, 58, 70, 122, 140
Clifford, Lord, 22, 40, 54, 68, 69, 120, 128, 133
Conway, Lord, 53, 79, and *passim*, xci., xcii., and *passim*
Corporations in Ireland, 5, 13, 17, 95, and *passim*
Coventry, Sir H., 84, 119, 130, and *passim*
Council, Committee, for Ireland, 110, 111
Cunningham, Mr., 83

Declaration of Indulgence, 57
Dering, Sir E., 85
Donegal, Lord, 14
Dungan, Lord, 84

Essex, Lady, 47, 89, 252, 255
Essex House, 226 and following; 299 and following
Eustace, Sir M., 196
Explanation, Act of, 135

Farthings, coinage of, 205, 207
Finch, Sir H., 139, and *passim*
Forbes, Sir Arthur, 53, 58, 60, 78, 117, 240, 285, and *passim*
Ford, Sir H., 85, 86
Foulkes, Sir F., 14
French, Martin, 138 and following

Godolphin, Francis, 45, 671, and *passim*
Gorge, Dr., 200
Gwyn, Nell, 146

Hacket, Thomas, Bishop of Downe, xxiii. and 76
Halifax, Lord, 111, 120, 131, 168, and *passim*
Hamilton, Duke of, 263, 265
Hollis, Lord, 168
Howard, Sir R., 130, 132, 176

Lambeth, Council, 293
Lauderdale, Duke of, 131 and *passim*
Leighton, Sir E., 51, 103

Digitized by Google

Loftus, Dr., 101, 126, 318
Louis XIV., 175, 273

Margetson, James, Archbishop of Armagh, 113
Modena, Princess of, Duchess of York, 142, 145, 159-256
Molooney, Dr., Bishop of Killaloe, 76, 137
Monmouth, Duke of, 59, 88, 122, *passim*
Montague, Lord, 261
Mosson, Dr., Bishop of Derry, xv., xx
Mulgrave, Lord, 281

Nonconformists, 15, 26, 33, 34, 37, 77, 124, 243, 248, 262
Northumberland, Earl of, 89
Northumberland, Lady, 199, 255, 269

Orange, Prince of, 263, 287
Ormond, Duke of, 111, 112, 119, 132, xcviii., and *passim*
Orrery, Earl of, i., ii., iv., v., xlix., lxxi., lxxii., and *passim*
Osborn, Sir T. (Earl of Danby), 86, 99, and *passim*
Ossory, Lord, 209, 283, 295

Patrick, Father, 60, 122, 249
Pembroke, Earl of, 282
Pembroke, Lady, 263
Petty, Sir W., 79, 82
Phillpot, Mr., 35, 192
Phœnix Park, 58, 59, 60, 70, 71, 73, 80, 84, 122
Plunket, Oliver, Titular Primate of Ireland, 126
Portsmouth, Duchess of, 199, 212, and *passim*
Powell, Mr., 130
Power, Lord, 29
Presbyterians, The, in Parliament, 181

Queen, The, 132

Ranelagh, Lord, 7, 62, 121, and *passim*
Robarts, Lord, 247, &c.
Rupert, Prince, 131, 137, 234

Savile, Henry, 28
Schools, Public, in Ulster, 113
Settlement, Act of, 32, 49-52, and *passim*
Shaftesbury, Earl of, xxviii., 59, 71-82, and *passim*
Sharp, Archbishop, forged letter of, 243
Shrewsbury, Lady, 160, 162, 167, 173
Southwell, Sir R., 57-91
St. George, Sir O., 138, 267
Strafford, Lord, 7, 40, 125
Swale, Sir S., 131

Talbot, Peter, 84, 137
Talbot, Col. Richard, 60, 61, 62, 74, 76, 90, 222
Temple, Sir W., lxxxii., lxxxvii., ci., cxliii., clvii., cciii.
Thynne, Henry, cci, cciv., ccxviii.
Tories, 117, 148, 160, 177, 264, 304, 306
Tottye, Sir T., 57, 192
Trade, 8, 30, 36, 54, 64, 69, 78, 128, 167, 172, 202, 275
Tweeddale, Marquis of, 263-265

Williamson, Sir T., 50, 228, and *passim*
Worcester, Marquis of, 45, 47

York, Duke of, 139 and *passim*
York, Duchess of. *See* Modena

Digitized by Google

WESTMINSTER:
PRINTED BY NICHOLS AND SONS,
25, PARLIAMENT STREET.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google